

The Explanation of the Embleme.

Underibus genus omne mali, probriq; gravat
Vixq; ferenda ferens, palma ut depressa, resum

Ac vellet undarum fluctus ventique furorem
Populi rupes immota repello.

Superior e tenebris, cœlestis stella, conusco.
Victor & æternum, felici pace triumpho.

Aut splendens rutilo, gemmisque decoram,
Aut pallis gravidam spernendo calco coronam.

Quocumq; ut ferri faciem, quo sps mea, Christi
Nobis vera est tractare voluptas.

Quocumq; fidei, semperque beatam,
Et oculis oras, Ipso; Nobisque paratam.

Christi Gratia
Nobis Gloria merces

And though clogg'd with weights of misery
And down depress'd, I higher rise.

And as th' unmoved Rock out braves
The boisterous winds, and raging waves

So I stand firm. And In dark Night
My light afflictions shine more bright.

That splendid but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlessly I trample down.

With joy I take this Crown of Thorns
Though sharp, yet easie to be borne.

This glorious-happie Crown I see,
Whereof I cannot be

I desire not things, and do embrace
The just reward of Grace.

de

gravat
a, refur
em

o.

oram
nam.

Chri

4

h

im.

Grati
mercen

if mife
e.

yes
waver

t

ht.

own

horn
cn.

e ;

race

G



D. 26. MAY. 1947

C

THE
EIKON BAZIAIKH

R

POURTRACTURE

OF HIS SACRED

MAJESTIE

^{IN HIS}
SOLITUDES

^{AND}
SUFFERINGS

With
PRAYERS
used in the time of
His *Restraint*.

Also His
MAJESTIES
Reasons against the
pretended Jurisdiction
of the High Court
of Justice.

R. O. M. & More than
Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Hereunto is annexed
A Letter from the Prince of Wales.

Reprinted in *Revis Memoriam*, for

John Williams, 1649.



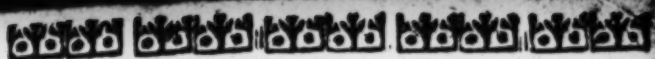
¶ An Epitaph upon King
CHARLS.

SO fails that stately Cedar; while it stood
That was the onely glory of the Wood ;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celestial Man ,
Whole life, like others, though it were a span :
Yet in that span, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore,
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels should rehearse,
It is a theme too high for humane Verse :
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book ,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do ,
Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Priest*, and *Prophet* too;
And sadly see our losse, and though in vain ,
With fruitlesse wilhes, call the back again.
Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse
Thy Suff'rings and thy death let no man name ;
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.



¶ The



¶ The Contents.

Fol.

- 1 **U**pon His Majesties calling this last Parliament. 1
- 2 Upon the Earl of Straffords death. 4
- 3 Upon his Majesties going to the House of Commons. 8
- 4 Upon the Insolencie of Tumults. 11
- 5 Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses. 17
- 6 Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster. 22
- 7 Upon the Queens departure, and absence out of England. 27
- 8 Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams. 30

The Contents.

9 Upon the lifting, and raising
Armies against the King. 35

10 Upon their seizing the
Kings Magazines, Forts,
Navie, and Militia. 43

11 Upon the nineteen Propo-
sitions first sent to the King;
and more afterwards. 48

12 Upon the Rebellion, and
troubles in Ireland. 58

13 Upon the calling in of the
Scots, and their coming. 65

14 Upon the Covenant. 71

15 Upon the many Jealousies
raised, and Scandals cast up-
on the King to stir up the
People against him. 79

16 Upon the Ordinance a-
gainst the Common-Prayer-
Book. 90

17 Of the differences between
the King and the two Hou-
ses in point of Church-
government. 25

Great
Who
Yet in

The Contents.

- 18 *Upon Uxbridge-Treaty ,
and other offers made by the
King.* 109
- 19 *Upon the various events of
the War, Victories, and De-
feats.* 112
- 20 *Vpon the Reformation of
the Times.* 118
- 21 *Upon His Majesties Let-
ters, taken, and divulged.* 123
- 22 *Upon His Majesties leaving
Oxford , and going to the
Scots.* 128
- 23 *Upon the Scots delivering
the King to the English ,
and His Captivitie at Holm-
bie.* 131
- 24 *Upon their denying His
Majestie the Attendance of
His Chaplains.* 134
- 25 *Penitential Meditations
and Vows in the KINGs
solitude at Holmbie.* 142
- A 4 26 *Up-*

The Contents.

26 *Upon the Armies Surprisa
of the KING at Holmby
and the ensuing distractions
in the two Houses, the Army,
and the Citie.* I 46

27 *To the Prince of Wales.* I 51

28 *Meditations upon Death,
after the Votes of Non-ad-
dresses, and His Majesties
closer Imprisonment in Ca-
risbrook-Castle.* I 64

¶ To these are annexed,
*His MAJESTIES Prayers
used in the time of His Re-
straint. And a Copie of a
Letter from the Prince to
the KING. Delivered to
D^r Juxon upon the Scaffold.
Also His intended Reasons a-
gainst the High Court of
Justice.*

*Likewise, His Majesties Speech
to the Ladie Elisabeth, &c.*



EIKON BASILIKH.

**I Upon His Majesties calling
this last Parliament.**



His last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessitie of my affairs, than by my own choise and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliament, most safe for my Crown, as best pleasing to my

People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with my self, to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State. I hoped (by my Freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all mis-understandings, and mis-carriages in this: in which, as I feared, affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should find least of them in my self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:.) No man was better pleased, with the convening of this Par-

liament than my self; who knowing best the largesse of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between me and my People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, my own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest Honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my friends; but mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practice; but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order than my self; whom it most concerns both in piety and policy; as knowing that, No flames of civil dissensions are more dangerous than those which make religious pretensions the grounds of Factions

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what ever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my self within those bounds, and not suffered my own Judgement to have been overborn in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed my self and my Kingdoms to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

FOR thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have over laid our hopes : Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions, afterwards to please thee. Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, thou givest us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of my calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention to thy glorie and my Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements: that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble afflictions, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children. I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my People unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, than our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou Sovereign goodnesse and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also in our hearts; that the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turn our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy War, so let this war prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased: and thou wilt give to thy servant (though a sinner) for my Saviours sake. Amen.

2 Upon the Earl of Straffords death.

I Looked upon my Lord of Strafford, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in my Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that people, more than led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the businesse of that unfortunate

fortunate Earl: when between my own unsatisfied-
ness in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told
me) of satisfying the importunities of some people;
I was perswaded by those, that I think wisbed
me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what
seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my
Kingdoms with men, before that inward exact-
ness of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or deny-
ing that compliance on my part (for plenary con-
sent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my
Judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guil-
ty of death: That I never bare any touch of Con-
science with greater regret: which, as a sign of
my repentance, I have often with sorrow con-
fessed both to God and men, as an act of so sin-
full frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man,
than of God, whose name and place on earth no
man is worthy to bear, who will avoid incon-
veniences of State by acts of so high injustice,
as no publick convenience can expiate or com-
pensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own
Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm
the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a
tempest in a mans own bosom.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and
sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of
that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though un-
justly) than the People be displeased, or destroyed.*
For,

In all likelyhood I could never have suffered
with my People, greater calamities, (yet with great-
er comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency,
at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*,
according to that Justice, which my Conscience
suggested to me, than I have done since I grati-
fied some mens unthankfull importunities with so
cruel a favour. And I have observed that those,
who counselled me to sign that *Bill*, have been so
far from receiving the rewards of such ingra-
tiations with the People, that no men have been
harassed and crushed more than they. He onely
hath

hath been least vexed by them, who counsell'd me not to consent against the vote of my own Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of that businesse.

To which being in my soul so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon me, are so much the more wel-come; as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to me, as to make me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments; and the peace of my Conscience, before the preservation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from me to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, than the sharp touches I have had for what passed me, in my Lord of *Straffords* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employ'd him in my affairs, against the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesse I was better assured than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish my Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were (by posting their names,) exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for Justice, (that is, to have both my self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have us) that many (it is thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, than satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

And

And that after-Aſt vacating the Authoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently teſte the world, that ſome remorse touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loth ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice and pretences of avoyding publick miſchief:) which may (I hope) be ſome evidenced before God and Man, to all Poſteritie, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath bin ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on me, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, than to loſe my own.

But thou, O God: of thy infinite mercies forgive me that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me than any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy; or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltineſſe, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſſe.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight; for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and hand.

Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer. I ſhall be clean, waſh me with that pretious Effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter than ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailtie in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after troubles, thou haſt for that among

other

other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou see'st fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit which Subjects my will to none; but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soul: for thou desire'st Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours blood, which speaks better things; O make me, and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

3 *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

My going to the house of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, Which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears, yea, and many of my friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion than Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial which was all I desired.

my King-

s thy will,
e but the

overcome

O never
go againſt
our Con-

to deprive

hy Salva-

free Spirit

ny light of

shines in

the inward

effluſions.

nd my Sa-

things; O

ice of Joy

thou haſt

ing to

ns.

ons to de-

ers, was an

l the oblo-

e jealousies

ls reſented

ffion than

cretion, at

ves, and

ght my ſell

ing to ſuch

ainſt thoſe

egal Trial

No

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further than I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull cor- reſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, than either to do me, and my Kingdoms right in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency; and removed my ſuſpicion; which as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpoke (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſs: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their privilege is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows I had no ſuch intent: ſo none that attended me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen as it was no unworſted thing for the Maſtey and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, than I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly

vealed

vented against me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that businesse was this.

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted Vulgar, as great Protectours of their Laws and Libertties, and my self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conscience who, if guilty of evil machinations, no present impunity, or popular vindications of them, will but subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from the exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after an avoidable Judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I foresaw, would in all likelihood follow some more activity (if not restrained) and so now hark down to the undoing of many thousands; the more the pity:

But to over-aw the Freedom of the House, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design. I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear a repulse with patience, than to use such hazardous extremities.

BUt thou, O Lord, art my witness in heaven, and in my heart: if I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickedness in my thoughts.

Then Let the enemy persecute my soul, and take my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but look beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew thy self.

deeds.
this.

were the
r, as great
ties, the
correction.
Conscience
no pres
f them, w
n from the

of Justice
al, as be
at after
udge, wh
, or not

if God h
which I fe
y some me
w hath do
s the more
he House
any viol
all my deli
d Reason
ed so rom
er to bear
such hazan

a heaven-
olence or
ere were
ul, and tra
e Honour

but look
earching
ging to h
v thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin; in that matter, more than their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of my heart, and the innocencie of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy Salvation.

4 Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all the mischiefs, which have followed, than those Tumults in London and Westminster, soon after the Convening of this Parliament, which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake shaking the very foundations of all, than which, nothing in the world hath more of horroure.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea, so 'tis no lesse that he restrains the madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, than when he suffers the consequence and clamours of the Vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degree of Insolence, that they feared not to invade the Honour, and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude

rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, an ague; but a quotidian feavour, alwayes encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears which some men feared themselves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, than those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, than to Protest, than to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All Obstructions in Parliament (that is, a Freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (if they please to count them) cast out: By the obstinacy of men resolving to discharge their Conscience must be subdued; by these all seditious, seditious, and schismatical proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had most mind to bring forth Confusion and Ruin upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, the fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse be fitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut off abhorrtive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were the outrages, that no sober man could be without infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated and connived at by some, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want a thing he most desired, for the Publick good; than

obtain
But n
agree
futable
own e
mean
not le
Wh
of Tu
holder
impor
scious
will le
be use
But
when
Multi
men o
them o
Tha
able
and M
House
ained
ble to
use an
Such
no in
joyed
abused
sted
of min
honou
Nor
ally
oute
ed of
those
Yea
en) o
Coura
could
does a
obv

obtain it by such unlawfull and irreligious means?
But mens passions and Gods directions seldom
agree; violent designs and motions must have
suitable engines, such as too much attend their
own ends, seldom confine themselves to Gods
means. Force must crowd in what Reason will
not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patroness
of Tumults, to send for them: to flatter and em-
bolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous
importunities, some men yet living are too con-
scious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time
will let these see, that those were no fit means to
be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage,
when strong winds blow upon it; so, neither for
Multitudes to become insolent, when they have
men of some reputation for parts and pietie to set
them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formi-
dable, was, that many complaints being made,
and Messages sent by my self, and some of both
Houses; yet no order for redresse could be ob-
tained with any vigour and efficacy, proportion-
able to the Malignity of that now far-spread dis-
ease and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity that they feared
no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they
joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged and
abused, while they knew their onely securitie con-
sisted in vulgar flatterie: So insensible were they
of mine, or the two Houses common safety and
honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impar-
tially to examin, censure, and punish the known
house-fews and impudent incendiaries, who boast-
ed of the influence they had, and used to convoke
those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser Statef-
men) owned them as friends, commending their
Courage, Zeal, and Industrie, which to sober men
could seem no better than that of the Devil, who
goes about seeking whom he may deceive, &c.

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolensed and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from my self, could take place for the due suppression of these Tumults; and securing not onely our Freedom in Parliament, but our very Persons in the streets; I thought my self not bound, by my presence, to provoke them to higher boldnesse and contempts: I hoped by my withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie in any man, for popular terrours to desert his publick station. But I think it a hardinesse beyond true valour, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking-in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its furie, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall*, onely to redeem my Person and Conscience from violence) God knows, I did not then think of War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would be so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakened my self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denied my self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other, for a withdrawing Our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high as to worrie and tear those in pieces whom as yet, they but play with in their paws? God, who is my sole Judge, is my witnesse in Heaven, that I never had a thought

thoughts of going from my House at *White-hall*, I could have had but any reasonable fair quarter: I was resolved to bear much and did so, but I did not think my self bound to prostitute the Majestie of my Place and Person, the safety of my Wife and Children, to those who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunities most capable of their rudenesse and insolency.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have already given an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guiltie,) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is; namely, I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that Citie, pay their sin in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more than an even lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its First Election and Constitution, sat full and free, the members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting as in all Reason, Honour, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publique Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in England (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was un-

unhappily convened. But we must leave all
God, who orders our disorders, and magnify
his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries
are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence,
thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging
the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come
upon me and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon my sins, and the sins of my People
(which are the tumults of our souls against thee,
Lord,) as the just cause of these popular inundations
which thou permittest to overbear all the
banks of Loyalty, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and
Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one
place, and madest the drie land to appear, and
after didst assuage the flood which drowned the
world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke the
beasts of the People, and deliver me from
rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedom of
our Counsels and Parliaments; make us unpo-
nately to see the light of Reason, and Religion,
and with all order and gravity to follow it,
it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise
thy name, who art the God of Order and Countenance.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy
omnipotent Justice can, and will.

O Lord give them that are yet living, a time
sense and sorrow for their great sin, who
thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing
those disorders: Let shame here, and no suffering
hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passion by Reason; to our
rours by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly ex-
ecuted, and to our schismes by Charity, that we may
be as thy Jerusalem, a Citie at unitie in it self.

This grant, O my God, in thy good time for
Jesus Christs sake. Amen.

*5 Upon His Majesties passing
the Bill for the Triennial
Parliaments: and after set-
tling this, during the pleasure
of the two Houses.*

THat the World might be fully confirmed in
my purposes at first; to contribute, what in
Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience I
could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament,
which had in me no other design but the Gene-
ral good of my Kingdoms) I willingly passed the
Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle
and seasonable Physick might (if well applied)
prevent any distempers from getting any head, or
prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a
disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work
with convenient recesses for the first three years;
but I did not imagine that some men would
thereby have occasioned more work than they
found to do, by undoing so much as they found
well done to their hands. Such is some mens
stivitie, that they will needs make work rather
than want it; and chuse to be doing amisse rather
then do nothing.

When that first act seemed too scanty to satisfie
some mens fears, and to compasse publick af-
fairs, I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting
during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted
to some mens sense, to as much as the perpetua-
ting this Parliament. By this act of highest con-
science, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock
the door upon all present jealousies, and future
dissensions: I confesse I did not thereby intend to
shut my self out of doors, as some men have now
slandered me.

5 Upon **I** t was an act unparalleled by any of my Pre-

Predecessours, yet cannot in reason admit of a worse interpretation than this, of an over-crem confidence I had, that my Subjects would not make an ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much for to them, as to denie my self in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit, that my condition should be worse by my bestitering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire the advantages of doing good or evil.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving the Laws in their due execution and vigour, whereby in my Interest lies more than any mans, since by those Laws, my Rights as a King, would be preserved no lesse than my Subjects which is all that is desired. More than the Law gives me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not use.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I had repented me of that settling Act: and many would needs perswade me, I had cause so to do; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honour; That the more I had granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted my self undiminished by my largest Concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my People.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still blesse me with increase of it: when I shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice that with unpassionate representations they may relate to upon those, (as I think) not more Princely than friendly contributions, which I granted to justify the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are not only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time the Loyal and cleared affections of my People will strive to return such retributions of God's bounty, and love to me, as my Posteritie, as

admit of any way to compensate both the acts of my confidence and my sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor ended so suddenly, occasioned chiefly by a persuasion I had, at a point of time I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that being professedly my Subjects, it justly seems, pretended singular pietie and religiousness by my beneficence.

have been in The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some as well with me will needs load me withall; as if I were a man able to defend my self and resolved Occasioner of my own and my Subjects miseries. while (as they confidently, would be it (God knows) falsely devulge) I repining at the preserving establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostilitie, to undo what by my Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreme fatuities of mind in me, for to bind my own hands at their request; if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows though that I formerly had then a sense of Injuries, yet not such, as to many would think them worth vindicating by a War: I was to do; but not then compelled, as since, to injure my self by their not using favours, with the same the more indour wherewith they were conferred. The more and more tumults indeed threatened to abuse all Acts of indimittance, and turn them into wantonnesse; but I might have thought at length their own fears, whose black first raised up those turbulent Spirits, would but that force them to conjure them down again.

: when Nor if I had justly resented any indignities and injuries upon me, or others, was I then in any capacity may resolve to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Princely way upon those, whom I knew so well intended to be justified in the love of the meaner sort of the who are no people, that I could not have given my enemies means and more desired advantages against me, that I intended by so unprincely inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them from but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of my Parliament.

tions of God knows I longed for nothing more quiet, as that my self, and my Subjects might quiet.

ly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a course full of sin, as well as of Hazard and dishonour for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too in all probability: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sinceritie and uprightnesse of my own heart in passing this great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, That although I may seem a lesse Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down head-long;

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by way of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds than this hundred Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see; That it is no strange thing for men, led to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodnesse to others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

TO thee, O my God, do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesse of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to my Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitting to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustrating, as the fulfillings of my best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised mine own; and by settling them, have unsettled my self.

Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I set out, nor my making any other, with that safety and Honour which I designed.

'Tis easie for thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies, of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from me can make others more guiltie than my self may be, if misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee give me and them such repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon my offences against thee.

So although for my sins I am by other means deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6 Upon his Majesties retirement from Westminster.

WITH what willingnesse I withdrew from Westminster, let them judge, who unprovided of tackling and victual are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, than venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I stayed at *White-hall*, till I was driven away by shame more than fear; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either my self, or the Members of Parliament, the Liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression my call alone, (though chiefly mine) for the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they have used each their own Freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to my Judgement; nor can they include, or carrie with them my consent, when they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses than I see them agree with the will of God, with my just Rights, as a King, and the general good of my People. I see that as many men they are seldom of one mind; and I may oft see, that a *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate minds, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which have been enough to secure and satisfie all; if for mens Hydropick insatiablenes had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drink.

er men
et I may
cies, whic
be the mo

retire
ter.

drew from
ho unpro
rce to Sa
ure split

en away by
arous rude
they woul
g, and no
of Parli
Conscience

on my ca
Lords an
ervoted by
n they ha

any Law
nor can the
ent, whe
I furth
oth House
God, wi
eneral go
en they
, that

d moder
ll just
which
l; if
learned
hey draw
wh

whom no fountain of Royal bountie was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to what ever tumultuary Patroness shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitie, or redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereignty of his soul, and libertie of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that Freedom, which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man and a Christian, owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above me as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which subjects onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, than live with the Title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation-Oath: in a blind and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative Voice as a King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the libertie of using my Reason with a good Conscience; which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever my self, as King, or the House of Peers with me should, not so much desire as enjoin them to passe. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point by my Governing onely by such Laws, as my People with the house of Peers have chosen, and my self have consented to. I shall never think my self conscientiously tied to go as oft against my Conscience, as I should

consent to such new Proposals, which my Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids me denie.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being Subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent,) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurditie they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him, to use his own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activenesse, weakenesse or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obstinacy in me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my mind;) yet can no man think it other than the Badge and Method of Slaverie, by savage rudenesse, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of his Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and Faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Polestar, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakenesse of their Counsels, and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to me, by the two Houses, further than I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please me more, than when

when my Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them : yea in many things where not absolute and morall necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience on point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to denie my self than them ; as preferring that which they thought necessarie for my Peoples good , before what I saw but convenient for my self.

For I can be contented to recede much from my own Interests, and personall Rights, of which I conceive my self to be Master ; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the general good of my Kingdoms : (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute ; nor shall any man gain my consent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the Lie ; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend and comply to the various, and oft contrarie dictates of any Factions ; when in stead of Reason, and Publick concerns, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthie a Christian King, than to prefer his Conscience before his Kingdom.

O My God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom ; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain : who though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wils to thine, whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguid us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and Commands, that we should believe and obey

rather than dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee against our consciences; and as to do the desires of men, enjoinest us to trie things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposals

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuarie violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanlie slaverie, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glorie, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of mine own Dutie in Reason and Justice.

Make me willingly to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon me, rather than commit the least sin against my Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of my People be (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal waies without the slaverie of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favour, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions, and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice; for these I know, will bring me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

*Upon the Queens Departure,
and absence out of Eng-
land.*

Although I have much cause to be troubled
at my Wives Departure from me, and out of
my Dominion; yet not her absence so much, as the
scandal of that necessitie, which drives her away
doth afflict me. That she should be compelled by
mine own Subjects, and those pretending to be
Protestants, to withdraw for her safety: This
being the first example of any Protestant Subjects
that have taken up Arms against their King a
Protestant: For I look upon this done in *Eng-
land*; as another Act of the same Tragedie which
was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that
fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like
flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the
adorning of the Protestant Profession) may occa-
sion a further alienation of mind and divorce of
affections in her, from that Religion, which is the
onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in
time take away; and not suffer these practices, to
be any obstruction to her judgement; since it is
the motion of those men, (for the most part) who
are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Do-
ctrine, Government, and good manners, and so
not to be imputed to the true *English* Protestants;
who continue firm to their former settled Principles
and Laws.

I am sorry my Relation to so deserving a Ladie
should be any occasion of her danger and affliction;
whose merits would have served her for a
protection among the savage *Indians*; while their
rudenesse and barbarie knows not so perfectly
to hate all virtues, as some mens subtiltie doth;
among whom I yet think few are so malicious as
to hate her for her self. The fault is, that she is my
Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands me to studie her Securitie, who is onely in danger for my sake ; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and ship-wrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safetie in the midst of my Personal Dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved : In whose memorie, and hopefull Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of mine Enemies, although they should be satiated with my Bloud.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of my good Subjects, and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them by those who in all Dutie and Allegiancesought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie : Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie so noble and peacefull a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie, and impudence.

Her sympathie with me in my afflictions, will make her virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights ; and assure the envious world, that she loves me, not my Fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generalitie, and Vulgar ; for we see God is pleased to trie both our patiences, by the most self-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who have eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bountie, have scornfully lift up themselves against us, and those of our own Household are become our Enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfy all Obligations to Dutie by their Corban of Religion :

Religion: and can lesse endure to see, than to sin against the benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is so far venial, as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of my Kingdoms, left by the influence of her example, eminent for Love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their Love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and my own Heart, whence no malice can banish her, my enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy my self.

Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy Mercy in thy due time reunite us on earth, if it be thy will, however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, find, and to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldest have us to know in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our souls eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandal of those my Subjects which professe the same Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldest have her to learn, or any hardening of her

her in any error thou wouldst have cleared her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the Poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be presented to her judgement with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyalty, Charity and Peaceablenesse, which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all these holy duties, which most agree with his holy Doctrine and most imitable example.

The experience we have of vanitie, and uncertainty of all humane glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8 Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.

MY repulse at Hull, seemed at the first view an act of so rude Disloyaltie, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the first overt-Essay to be made: how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it afflicted me more, with shame and sorrow for others, than with anger for my self.

self: nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy set, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun than not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous than the assault; and hate repentance more than perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some mens whose words were sometime smoother than oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbecoming myself, or unsutable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Christian, than a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excessse injures a man more than his greatest enemies can, for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which other wayes cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged my cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediſtion of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproched, unthreatened, uncursed, by any language or ſecret imprecation of mine, onely blaſted with the Conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconfſtancy to another, not long after payes his own and his eldeſt ſons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyaltie, to thoſe men from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward than thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who employed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſfull to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them; For, Apoſtacie unto Loyaltie ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common wealth. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Countie: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruin, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt me) that I ſo far pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, than I hope many other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowerneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sin and

and R
cents
Religi
doth
Sir
ther
right
cloak
ſelves
That
he be
repent
to me
the ha
who c
could
For
to pay
to be
God
his m
Poo
monu
the w
that
Sover
an un
the m
who v
Aft
more
'tis c
Hono
action
bran
my
enga
moſt
B
away
any
ſatisf

long after
the eye of
and cannot
in some re
oke, and

unthreat
ret impre
Conscience
from one
payes his
feitures of
om surely
ard than
r bodien
om their

ayed them
ffesfull to
o forgive
em; For
ount the

turn, the
nough to
he Com
olved in
he sin of
ounarie:

ry fancy:
g in the
was able
e a full
irst em
ed him,
inft the
y other

at super-
tend to,
ns their
g of Sin
and

and Rebellion in those means they use, with in-
tents to reform to their Models, what they call
Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which
doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and Fervency

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of ano-
ther temper, and so most liable to those down-
right temptations of ambition, which have no
cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon them-
selves or others.

That which makes me more pitie him is, that after
he began to have some inclinations towards a
repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty
to me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into
the hands of their Justice, and not my Mercy,
who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he
could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought
to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause
to believe they would not after abuse it, since
God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for
his mercy, but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable
monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching
the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle,
that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his
Sovereign, carries alwaies its own vengeance, as
an unseparable shadow with it; & those oft prove
the most fatal, and implacable Executioners of it,
who were the first Employers in the service.

Afbertimes will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were
more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though
'tis certain, that no punishment so stains a mans
Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy
actions; which besides the Conscience of the sin,
brands, with most indelible Characters of infam-
y, the name and memory to Posterity, who not
engaged in the Factions of the times, have the
most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable
away avenged thy servant, suffer me not to take
any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath
satisfied the injurie he did to me, so let me not
by

by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront gainst me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head; and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my Cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, So let mine Enemies perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my Mercie: yea let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high nature, that I may have those to forgive who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majestie; which, I hope, thy Mercie hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation: but to their conscience for amendment: Let the lightening of this thunder bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sin that sin of malicious wickednesse.

That, preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the throne of thy servant in mercie and truth, meeting together let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offers of thy love, even when we were thine enemies and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

9 Upon the lifting, and raising Armies against the KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced me to leave *White hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army must, which is but Tumults lifted and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may be Conquered

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling me: here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of my Conscience before any outward tranquillitie.

And must I be opposed with Force, because they have not Reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage; they confesse their known weaknesse, as to Truth, and Justice, who chuse rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed; and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that loves his People and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Governments, which might escape; rather through ill counsel of some men, driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the Publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable

perable necessities of State, than any propension I hope, of my self either to injuriousness or oppression:

Whose innocent blood during my Reign have I shed to satisfy my lust, anger, or covetousness? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against me, the just cry of which must now be avenged with my own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is my Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to find what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against me, that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion; which (to many men) seems rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of Minds, or of private Discontents, Ambitions, and Faction, (which easily find, or make causes of quarrel) than any real obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in my own conscience, however some men are not willing to believe me, lest they should condemn them.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted, but onely to oppress both mine and the two Houses Freedom of Declaring and Voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further than this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by my Lord of *Siraffords* death) while the Vulgar threatened to be their Oppressours, and Judges of their Judges.

was

was from
preserv
pear, w
stice an
the Rab
not con
with li
to any
them to
before

Had
dom an
asserte
way of
declare
to me,
either
upon t
to Lav

Dis
heigh
solenc
were

this,
over-
nor c
preser
Inno
State

In
nerou
this
gain
to w
Fuln

B
desp
Deli
of th
then
Tur
ber
thei

was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sence with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruin them, before their Cause could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the members quietly to come and declare their Consciences, I know no man so dear to me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or denie appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject is bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-awed with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages, or presence, the designs of those men who agitated Innovations, and ruin, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousnesse; further than this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, than Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes, by free Deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the *major* part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults) to sift and terifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrarie minds to their purposes.

How

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their ancient Places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers . carried for them by the major part of Lords? Yet after five repeated Votes, contrarie to all Order and Custom . it was by tumultuary instigations obruded again, and by a few carried , when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner , was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuarie clamours, and schismaticall Terroures , which could never pass till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialtie , while in all Reason, Justice and Religion , my Conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their Votes to Act of Parliament ; I must now be urged with an Army , and constrained either to hazard my own , and my Kingdoms ruin by my Defence, or prostrate my Conscience to the blind obedience of those men , whose zealous Superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and anciently Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain , or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it : mine much more , who , besides the grounds I have in my judgement , have also a most strict and indispenfible Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order , and the Rights of the Church , to which , most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury , most unbecoming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my consent be betrayed , I should account it infinitely greater misery, than any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it, than the greatest affliction . Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopal Faction at first in this point , with my consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues, to the furie of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would have

we found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents. That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a persuasion of their contentedness to suffer the present diminution in their Rights and Honour, for my sake, and the Common-wealth, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather than occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot adde my consent to the total expunction of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further weight upon my Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical; and so very sacred and to Act Divine, as not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, with an when what is onely of civil Favour, and Privilege of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence; but those could not be the first occasions of raising an Army against me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load me with all the envy & injuries of first assaulting them) when as God knows I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been honourably and Effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the Liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedom, becoming such

a Senate, have come and discharged their Offices, I had obtained all that I designed by my withdrawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned than I retired; this being my necessity driving, the other my choice determining.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carried with me, which would never fit their design; and so while they invited me to come, and grievously complained of my absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretence of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults and their-Exciters, which drove my self, and many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loth to have deserted as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Army against me, is by the sequel so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them, there was nothing of consequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But, among other lesser Invocations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequential or accessory, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, when the noise and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with pre-
judice

judice
ment
as to
betwe
this I
my c
scienc
medic
Work
find t
fortun
not th
darke
peace
addre

F
cloud
out p
thine

O m
the af
my so

Con
many,
witho

For
prepa
War
ing I
gain

Th
depl
therec
digall
rure n
pelled
better

O
ence t
some
bear
tent

judice, that allequalitie and cleareness of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between Us, when they first raised an Armie, with this Design, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my Conscience (who was, God knows, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the World from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate Successes of this War, on my side, I do not think mine innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkened; nor am I without that integritie, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse my praier to him.

FOR thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thine omniscience eternally guides thine unerrable judgement.

O my God: the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set thee before their eies.

Consider mine Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadlie hatred without a cause.

For thou knowest I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more than any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessities thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirstie of my Subjects blood, as to venture mine own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie War, & which were better spent to save, than to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs

perswade the world that I have raised first, or
ven just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues
such, that they would make me almost suspec
mine own innocencie: yea, I could be content (a
least by my silence) to take upon me so great
guilt before men, if by that I might allay the ma
lice of mine Enemies, and redeem my People from
this miserable War, since thou, O Lord, knowest
mine Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudie and deceitfull men
many of whom have not lived out half their daies
in which they promised themselves the enjoyment
of the fruit of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou
hast, and in thy due time scatter the People that
delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self because of the rage
of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more & more.
Behold them that have conceived mischief, tra
vailed with iniquitie, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is
either to destroy my Person, or force my Judge
ment, and to make me renege my Conscience and
thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse *David's* choise, and desire
rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying
them, (though their mercies be cruel) than into
thine hands by sinning against my conscience
and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire.
Better they destroy me, than thou shouldest damne
me.

Be thou ever the Defence of my Soul, who wilt
save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my Bloud will satisfie mine En
emies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms,
thy temporal Justice, I am content, if it be thy
will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But, O let the bloud of me, though their King
yet a sinner, be washed with the bloud of my im
mortal and peace-making Redeemer; for in that
Justice will find not onely a temporarie expiation
but an eternal plenary satisfaction: both for
me and for my People.

and the sins of my People; whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they do.

IO Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.

How untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Armie, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pitie me, and the Loyal hearts that durst onely pray for me, at first, might witness, which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in Arms listed against me; my unpreparednesse for a War may well dishearten those that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for me that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my self, or to preserve what is mine own from their preemption.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much a fore-hand in their preparations against me, and surprisals of my strength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for me; so over-awed is their Loyaltie by the others numbers and terrors. I believe my innocencie, and unpreparednesse to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guiltie in their esteem, who would not so easily have declared a War against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew my chiefest Armes left me, were those onely, which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutours Prayers, and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and surprising my

Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navie, with the *Militia* is so far best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedie Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God. I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me; I am above my own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to my Friends, and a terrour to my Enemies, by being unable to Succour the one, or Suppress the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to me, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingship, as without any realitie of power, so without any necessitie of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomers* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily feized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common weath sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power, Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears and opportunities, both to secure my Friends, and my

come mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse than the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them, of me; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to my self; I desire not to be safer than I wish them and my People; if I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People further than they protected me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would not defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against me and them, that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia* to vast and large, is not satisfactorie to some men - which seem to be Enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which (at least) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to my Successours, forbid me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civillie and dutie (no lesse than justice and honour) should have forbad them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to eclipse mine own beams, to satisfie their fear; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded: if I should shine in the full luster of Kingly Power, where-with God and the Laws have invested me,

yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignitie to all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to my Subjects: whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to force; so they will find it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrositie, than any thing of perfection, beyond that right Monarchy, where Counsel may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and Malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darknesse and eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from me) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glorie and blessing of the Sun-light.

And if at present I may seem by my receding so much from the use of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for my Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compel me to take this new and strange way of discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to danger or dishonour, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good Conscience) doth more invite me, than can be expected.

ed from other mens fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safetie, than that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak Defences against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessitie is pleased to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquillitie, and Gods glorie, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to *Job*, whatever Honour, Power, or Libertie the *Caldians*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all Defence of Arms and *Militia*, all Refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castles; all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of mine own Innocencie, or Gods Mercie nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

T Herefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me than can be against me.

There is none in heaven, or in earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more than all to me; Make haste to succour me thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But mine eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to Conquer, yet at least to Suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safetie, and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to be reduced

to what thou wilt have me; whose judgements oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou maiest be all.

Thou hast taught me that no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side; and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy justice the glorie of my distresse.

O let thy mercie have the glorie of my Deliverance from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sins have I sought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who art my Subject, and justly maiest thou, by mine own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glorie.

But shew thy self, O my hope and onelie refuge! Let not mine Enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly Enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fullnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II Upon the nineteen Propositions first sent to the KING; and more afterwards.

Although there be many things they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set mine own Safetie, and my Peoples Peace;

Peace
rate.
ence
must
ous.
So
offer
rest
with
the i
red
ting
no n
my
H
not
excl
vou
T
giv
Th
but
ell
wi
qu
po
ba
th
fu
or
ha
d
d
T
f
c
f
f

Peace: which I cannot think to buy at too dear a rate. save onely with the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as mine Enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; Others are easily granted: The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating my Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making War upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing offered to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requital of those favours, I have or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot ask more than I can give: may I but reserve to my self the incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have any masterie of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples Peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken mine outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me than my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet

in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to bind my self to a general and implicit consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man; nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King by his own Subjects: any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and Power.

This were as if *Samson* should have consented, not onely to bind his own hands and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philistines might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresles in an humble and Loyal way of Petitioning; who by that insufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give, who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me in Reason as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereign King, as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extreame injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask? whose minds may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honour as their aims may be and their qualities are? which last, God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making me
thick

their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent Oppositions if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominions.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representation some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil than their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the Freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part of) these Propounders are; so that till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me; I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Fehues*: and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacy, portends more of *Phaeton* than of *Phabus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me; I expected either some good Laws, which had
been

been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution; or ſome evil cuſtoms preterlegal, and abuſes perſonal had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by my ſelf, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendered to me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being conſidered, by them, might fairly enduce me to condeſcend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion bind me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which, 'tis impoſſible to preſerve my people according to my pleaſure.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both: not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſal practice of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatiſſie ſober and wiſe men; not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial piety, but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both Divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to the ends: Nothing of any Laws diſ-jointed, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartial reformation to be granted, to all, or any of which Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty, I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so, punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours; and, assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie, of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an amazement, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*; among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the *major* part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things: the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Misgovernment, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not for all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulitie (believing that all is gold, which is gilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in judgement to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise an abatement from those popular clamours and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activitie of those men, who studied with all diligence and policie, to improve to their innovating Designs, the present Distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in my Judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against my Person, yet the first should never overcome me, further than I see cause, for I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Liverie, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the crie, and hallow of those men, who hunt after Factions, and private Designs, to the ruin of the Church and State.

Did my Judgement tell me, that the Propositions sent to me were the Results of the *major* part of their Votes, who exercise their Freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect mine own judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charitie enough to think, there are wise men among them: and humilitie to think, that, as in some things I may want, so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleat-

ness and inerrabilitie as to exclude my self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve as my self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessarie in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions is not more evident to me than this is, That they are not the joint and free desires of those in their *major* number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in my two last famous Predecessours daies, heaved at, and sometime threatened both Prince and Parliaments:) But I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobilitie and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the *major* part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practise, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant that the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries: some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against me, my Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast Desires of Change, to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safetie both of Church and State command me, to chew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitness of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do

of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man they have no more cause to quarrel with me, than for this That my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanitie to shew my negative power, shall have any Byas upon my judgement to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion persuade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament, and my Peoples; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithfull counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want, yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsel of that mighty Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O Thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant, first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in my Understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me, against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse than a Man; and not dare to say, Yes, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and libertie of Speech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable, veracitie and constancie in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partialitie, and injustice they denie that freedom to me their King, which thou hast given to all men; and which

Them.

Them
while
their

To
us by
bvrin
propo
purpo
nying
diffic

O
Le
thy

Le
and

I
men
fear

T
fool

as a
by

ral
not

tion

T
me

do
gr

ny
fl

li

w
c

t

f

t

f

Themselves Pertinaciously challenge to themselves: while they are so tender of the least breach of their Priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own finfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glorie be my end; thy word my rule; and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happie to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy truth, for thy Honour, my Kingdoms general good, and my own Souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I denie nothing fit to be granted, out of crosse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse discontents.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the Publick good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blasphemous fraudulent counsels.

Since

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me carefull of those solemn declarations of mine mind, which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick; either for good or weal.

The lesse others consider what they Ask, make me the more solicitous what I Answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures are grievous, and Peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art my Master than my self.

12 Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappie advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudie opportunitie should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed: Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me being so full of sin against God, disloyaltie to my Self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the *Irish* Rebels did was done with my privitie (at least,) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission, but against my Command and Person too, yet all the while to pretend, they fight

fight by my Authoritie, and for my Safetie.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must need be the greater: by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, than those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of mens intentions excuse the scandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their duty toward me, I must bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent Trials, either of my Patience under them, or my Pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsitie and contempt, with the cup of Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least content, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies as much as some mens perturbations: Who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and wherof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severitie, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not predisposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted expressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion.

a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of the Religion, and the natural desires of Libertie; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or designs they were driving, than to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissensions and jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been lesse affected with *Ireland*s sad estate than my self; I offered to go my self in Person upon that expedition; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to shoot at any mark here lesse than my self; or that any should have the glorie of my destruction, but themselves. Had my manie offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruin had been so great, nor the calamitie so long; nor the remedie so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedie suppressing of it by Domestic dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all extremities, not onely to the known Heads and chiefe Incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation.

Natio
Men,
to the
ours,
from
oppre
ged
Age
hand
right
and
that
lower
heav
left
the E
ther
men
rate
exam
of m
tecti
woul
dow
Bu
dera
crue
mor
for
men
cha
erro
W
Pro
and
En
ear
chi
fon
wh
cle
Go
fol

all (xom
bles of the
bertie; bot
t restrain
wherewit
ned, by th
ie of some
nt of the
other be

a wash my
n that Re
ears, as u
it spread
time wha
land made
erie, or de
ef of those
chered in
if nothing
me, repel
l dissenti
some men

e affected
s I offered
tion; But
have any
e to shoot
r that any
ion, but
accepted
so great
die so de

ho began
ho either
y Dome
or exasp
resoluti
tremities
Incendi
ie of that
Nations

Nation; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which Conquerours, nor wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecilitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) unevangelicall Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, than to call for fire from heaven upon whole Cities. for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all Extremities which might drive men desperate to obstinacie, than to applie moderate Remedies: such as might punish some with exemplarie Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercie upon their submission, and Our protection of them, from the furie of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmness; and had rather be cruel than counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens Estates being more beneficial, than the charitie of saving their Lives, or reforming their errors.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant partie there, to get them some respite and breathing by a Cessation, without which they saw no probabilitie (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that business, by per-

persons of Honour and Integrity; that so I might
neither encourage the Rebels Insolencie, nor
encourage the Protestants Loialtie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, the
the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would
permit, I was then again to suffer in my Reputation
and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels
utterly to devour the remaining handfulls of the
Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining
that respite could not be so much to the Rebels
advantages (which some have highly calumni-
ated against me) as it might have been for the Pro-
testants future, as well as present safetie; If during
the time of that Cessation, some men had had the
grace to have laid *Ireland*s sad condition more
heart, and laid aside those violent motions
which were here carried on by those, that had
better skill to let bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of mine Acti-
ons, (which are prone to find more credulitie
in men to what is false, and evil, than love or
charitie to what is true and good) as I have no
Judge but God above me, so I can have com-
fort to appeal to his Omnisience, who doth
not therefore denie mine Innocence, because he is
pleased so far to trie my patience, as he did his
servant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do to look to mine own Con-
science, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust
as a King; I have scarce leisure to consider those
swarms of reproches, which issue out of some
mens mouths and hearts, as easily as smoke, or
sparks do out of a fornace; Much lesse to make
much prolix Apologies, as might give those men
satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth
of wickednesse, are loth to believe any man not
so be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well and hear ill: if I can
but ast the one, I shall much regard to bear the
other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience, as bad
as my worst Enemies can safely say. And, I hope,

I shall still do better than they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil mine other Kingdoms are in great part guiltie; if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.

Which (whatever mine Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of mine other Kingdoms, exhausted out of mine own veins; no man being so much weakened by it, as my self; And I hope, though mens unsatiable Cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length say to his Justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: his mercifull Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O My God, let those infinite Mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much crueltie among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in Charitie, thou hast suffered a Spirit of errour and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance be our Recoverie, as our great sins have been our Ruin.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem smal to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never punishest small failings, with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, & remove thy judgements, which are very many, and very heavie.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, than thy

thy judgements; and make us more willing to
penit, than to be relieved; first give us the pen
of penitent Consciences, and then the tranquillity
of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviours Blood drown our sin
and through this red sea of our own blood, bring
us at last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As my publick relations to all make me share
in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such
pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King
and a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproches cast up
on me be as a breath, more to kindle my com
passion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of
fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice
or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindered the
quenching of those flames, which hath so much
wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in
Ireland whom thou hast hitherto preserved:

And lead those in the waies of thy saving
Truths, whose Ignorance or Errours have filled
them with rebellious and destructive Principles;
which they act under an opinion, That they do
thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice be against those, who
maliciously and despitefully have raised or to
mented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent
with the guiltie, and the eronious with the ma
licious; thou that hadst pitie on *Nineveh* for the
many children that were therein, give not over
the whole stock of that populous and seduced
Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetous
nesse makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which
is too fierce, and therefore Justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the
fornace of thy severe justice, a Posteritie which
may praise thee for thy Mercies;

And deal with me, not according to mans un
just reproches, but according to the innocencie
of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the woful

day of my Kingdoms calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloudie Distractions; then let thy hand be against me and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witness my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well. But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

14 Upon the calling in of the Scots, and their coming.

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bountie, with my Father of blessed memorie; but also special and late obligations of favours having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Partie, before my own Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royal bountie emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charitie, and act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancie make me repent of what I granted them for the Publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that partie into *England*, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late new Model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudie Characters.

which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means before the divine Justice I leave to their consciences to judge, who have already felt the miserie of the means but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosse of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the onely just Reformation, and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*: and was by them imagined would have done in *England*; when so many of the *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either Passion, or some self-seeking, more than true Zeal, and pious Discretion for any foreign State, or Church, to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfullly than commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That it may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler Applications than those of an Armie, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew our religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, than to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergie must conform to the *Scotts* Practice, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the other way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings had

for their credits, who urge things with such violence, and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely in matters of Religion, those Truths gain most on mens judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, being alwaies bred up and conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely because that Partie of the *Scots* will needs, by force, assist a like partie here, either to drive all Ministers as Sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the *Scots* sole Presbyterie were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Governments; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdoms without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles payed to the chief Governours of *Scot*, where they lived is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a partie of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions run

in a stream so contrarie to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianitie and Episcopacie which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Armie or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemn obtestations, and pious threatenings, but onely this, to represent to me the wonderfull necessitie of setting up their Presbyterie in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbyterie seeks to suppress, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think that nothing hath more marks of Schisme and Scismaticisme, than this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-Government; and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be so me, till I see more Rational and Religious motives, than Souldiers use to carrie in their Knapfacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many waies (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and furie of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glorie, and his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious

judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glorie of Christ above mine own; and the salvation of mens souls above the preservation of their bodies and estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and ruition, into the molds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Consciences, by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal; shall never either shake or unsettle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction; whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and Loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their Opinions; especially those that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of dutie, and gratitude to me: than I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certaintie of some divine Revelation; considering they were more than competently furnished with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancie that attends all minds engaged in violent motions, that when some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance, others of them soon after are wearie of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one partie thought to river to a settlednesse by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, despiſing the Kirk Government, and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more than charitable, assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly, will at length be discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; In vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruins of Loyaltie. Nor can those considerations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from me, in a prodigalitie of their love and respects toward me, as to make me to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience, which they have to me, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefeſt interest conſiſts in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any part of the People, to a neglect and betrayall of my Safetie and Honour for their own advantages: However the better cause I have to trust in men, the more I shall apply my self to God.

THe troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord; bring thou me out of my distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicitie, which is the best policie.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents Subtiltie, that they forget the Doves Innocencie.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my Soul, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of *Judah* and *Israel*, to restore *David* with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancie and eagernesse pursue him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightnesse in me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my Soul.

Let integritie and uprightnesse preserve me. for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

14 Upon the Covenant.

THe *Presbyterian* *Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of *Auxiliaries*; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn *League and Covenant*:

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise *Episcopacie*; This they make the grand evil *Spirit*, which, with some other *Imps* purposely ad-

ed, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charm and incantation be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches, since the Apostles times till this last Centurie.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it, Presbyterie, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops chair and Authoritie (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately Boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to my self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Disciplin and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, than swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessitie; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with the judgement and certaintie in ones self, or the charitie and candour to others of different opinion, as I thing Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yet and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People much needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, and things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so late

taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for by such politick and seemingly pious Stratagems, they think to keep the populace fast to their parties under the terrour of perjurie: whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former Ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without my consent, or without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans Laws, be ever thought, by judicious men, sufficient either to absolve or shaken those moral and eternal Bonds of Dutie which lie upon all my Subjects consciences both to God and me.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies: since I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other than such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carrie on the best Designs, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious,) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized Novelties, before their known and sworn Duties, which are indispensable, both to God and my self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way

of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common Road, used in all Factions and powerfull Perturbations of State or Church; Where Formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Pietie are never more studied and elaborate, than, when Politicians most agitate desperate Designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws; which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and lisse sensible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to complie with the humours of those men, who aim to subvert all to their own will and power, under the disguises of holy Combinations.

Which cords and wyths will hold mens consciences no longer, than force attends and twitts them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those Ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtiltie and terrour of a Partie casts upon him; either superfluous and vain when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after ligaments they find the Imposers really aiming to dissolve, or suspend their former just and necessarie Obligations.

Indeed such illegal waies seldom or never intend the engaging men more to Duties: but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though divers contrarie; with any Salvoes, Cautions, and Reservations, so as they crosse not the chief Design, which is laid against the Church and me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming increase to their Parties so little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to Act clearly against all Pietie and Loialtie: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it.

Wherein, the latitude of some general Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully you may, in their Places and Callings*, and according to the Word of God: for these (indeed) carrie no man beyond those Bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the General; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the Particular Regulation and Exercise of mens Duties.

I would to God such as glorie most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull Bounds, to which God hath called them: surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it, which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authoritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such Bounds of Pietie, Law, and Loialtie, as can never hurt either the Church, my Self, or the publick Peace: Against which no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to sudden acting and compliance contrarie to their former judgements, profession, and practice) such foul Scandals and Suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning.

learning and candour at home : all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now sacriously engaged.

No man can be more forward than my self to carrie on all due Reformati^ons, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience in what things I shall (after impartial advise) be, by Gods Word, and right reason convinced to be amisse ; I have offered more than the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens Actions makes evident, that the main Reformation intended is, The abusing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie. and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues : For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, than the Bishops, and Church-men. These as the fattest Dear, must be destroyed ; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration : Thus *Naboth's* Vine-yard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their Course in all seditious Com^ootions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with my consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings : yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of my Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other Additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* Divinitie and *Joseph's* true Pietie abhorred to do ; So unjust I think it both in the

of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred Emploiment of all due Encouragements; and like the other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done to the Red Sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either it or him, who esteems it his greatest Title to be called, and his chiefest glorie to be; *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith and its just frutitions, equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacie.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* the second sometime did on the Churches Alms, than violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboams* Reformation, consecrating the meannest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those golden *Calves* who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad Consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those Mischiefs whose Occasions and Remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repair the Breaches of the State without the Ruins of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other under the pretence

of Publick Debts : The Occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse : I pray God neither **I** nor Mine, may be accessarie to either.

TO thee, O Lord, do I addresse my praier, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable Bonds which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences. From which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrarie Practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious Designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught Us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holie, and after Vows to make enquirie.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all Posteritie of robbing Thee & thy Church of what thy bountie hath given us, and thy clemencie hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my Debts increased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience, as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens follie and prodigalitie hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue

Con
Churc
will o
Laws
defer
relief
with
with
Let
Churc
the C
are n
Let
alrea
with
Vine
nelle
a sti
Br
legio
juric
D
died
the
proc
B
that
nev

I

I

ga
w
by
w
n

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That the Priests may be clothed with righteousness, and the Poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine, nor the Churches bread to dogs; rather let them go about the Citie, grin like a dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, neither digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as *Naboths* Vine-yard to *Ahab*, gall in their mouth, rottenness to their Names, a moth to their Families and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded together against the Church and State; that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15 *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the People against him.*

IF I had not mine own innocencie, and Gods protection, it were hard for me to stand out against those stragelers and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth, and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justify so unjust engagements against me.

And

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie come short of these Designs: For I can more willingly lose my Crowns, than my Credit; nor are my Kingdoms so dear to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie.

Those foul and false Aspersions were secret Engines at first emploied against my Peoples love of me: that undermining their opinion and value of me, mine Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein yet I thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not so afflictive to me, as the sin and danger of my Peoples Souls, whose eies once blinded with such mists of Suspensions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of Actions; wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glorie in their zealous Adventures; while I am rendered to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pitié was above mine anger; nor have my passions ever so prevailed against me, as to exclude my most compassionate Praiers for them, whom devour Errours more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of my Subjects sought against my supposed Errours not my Person; and intended to Mend me, not to End me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared me, both to do him better service, and my People more good, than hitherto I have done.

I d
ons
am
from
their

I a
ward
to me
able
fiden
fulne
their

The
ver p
most
Erro

Th
shar
ing in
my s
to in

For
Ener
by si
men
by th
who

If
mies
own
to m
little
evid
thei
the s
creat

I l
over
nior
hell
way
Sub
Ke

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions; which occasioned their loial Injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to mine own Affections toward the generalitie of my People, to suspect theirs to me; nor that the malice of mine Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort, which that confidence gives me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens Ambition can do, shall never perswade me, to make so bad interpretations of most of my Subjects Actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but nor Heretical in point of Loialtie.

The sense of the Injuries done to my Subjects is sharp, as some done to my self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more than my self, that they are animated by some Seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of mine Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such Instruments, that mine afflictions grieve me not more, than this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been mine open and forreign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be mine own Subjects, who are next to my Children, dear to me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillitie, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided interest of their and mine Enemies, as by contrarie Winds the Storm of their Miseries would be rather increased than allaid.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruin than Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Domination, which is but my Right, as of their happiness; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest Injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the Miseries of life, and die

die many deaths, than shamefully to desert, dishonourably to betray mine own just Rights and Sovereignty; thereby to gratifie the ambitious, justifie the malice of mine Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Malicious persons need good Inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancie, and what their reproches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and my charitie to forgive, than my leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon me.

Did I not more consider my Subjects Satisfaction, than mine own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Aurtherours to be punished by their own evil manners, and seared consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals, which they have cast on Me; And make the World see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broching of them, or civilities (I need not say Loyaltie) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation even with the People, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of the furnace of popular obloquie, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamie, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search mine own Innocencie; than when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety, and gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon

upon m
fible to
God;
Blasph
these
Loyal
Not
me, v
(much
propo
were f
ings: t
forsak
No
as we
mind
Espe
ers, a
they p
will n
crying
that
mean
plott
Th
be m
It
scand
not
false
I
Grac
Prot
both
like
N
is th
I'll
from
Con
nat
the
bau

upon me, and my Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of me, and not to BlaspHEME him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent to be at once Loyal to me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie size, and that vulgar proportion wherein some men glorie so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me, than forsake me.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions as were used against me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnessse of the means used, nor the depth of mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activitie.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize me and mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as false.

I thank God I have had more trial of his Grace, as to the constancie of my Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give my Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me, and my People.

Contrarie to those well tried foundations of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in England; which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed. In which I shall ever by Gods help persevere, believing it hath most of Primitive Truth in Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially to those who least of all men cared whom they imployed or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, that differences of persuasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of Dutie, Allegiance, and Subjection. The first they owe to men, and Christians to God; the second, they owe to me in Common as their King; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the Communities of relations either to parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Ogllo* or medley of various Religions in the World again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?)

It was indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to inform me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessarie use of Papists, or any other, who did but their dutie to help me to defend my self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents, to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unreasonable scruple in me, (and very pleasing

doubt to my enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my Subjects; when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no lesse than their prayers as Christians.

The noise of my Evil Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving me better counsel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or Honour as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisuredly drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errors and faulties my self, or my Counsellours: They might be Subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were more repairable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects; that had I followed the worst counsels, that my worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer me, or my self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either me, or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorrie to see me prone even to injure my self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous

Per.

Persecutours) both of the comfort and reward their former pretended persecutions, where they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which indeed, a truly humble Christian will highly prize, as rather not be relieved, than revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown Christian patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw my people's affections from me, to their designs was, the noise and ostentation of Libertie, which men are now more prone to desire, than unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest Libertie be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion, I envie not my Subjects that Libertie, which is all I desire to enjoy my self; So far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentle-men which assisted me so prodigal of their Libertie, as with their Lives and Fortunes, to help on the enslaving of themselves and their Posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and covetous designs over the ruins of Church and State. Prince, Peers and People, will ever desire greater Freedom than the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction, losing justly his Safetie while he seeks an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform my Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true Libertie, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, That it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects Liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Laws, both Divine and Human.

man; under which, yet, I will rather perish than complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tendernesse (attended with humilitie and meeknesse, not with proud & arrogant activitie, which seeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire my Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereintie, which is the onely King of mens consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon me, as command them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men libertie to break the Law established, further than with meeknesse and patience they are content to suffer the penaltie annexed, rather than perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principal) impulses to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend such of those plentiful estates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times, which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproches, which impotent malice can invent; and my self exposed to all those contempts which may most diminish the Majestie of a King, and increase the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine Innocencie is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so my Reputation shall, like the Sun (after owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendor, as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffered to be tried in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will do me good, for some mens hard; false, and

and evil speeches against me ; wherein they speak rather, what they wish, than what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) than those men do who pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetfull of their Dutie to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majestie of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and holie Angels, *speak evil of Dignities and bring railing accusations against those who are honoured with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD should not honour their King

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majestie in comparison of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscuritie ; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authoritie and sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black vails be able to hide the shining of my face while God gives me an heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true Glorie and Majestie.

THOU O Lord, knowest my reproch, and my dishonour, mine Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men ; whose teeth are spears and arrows ; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine Enemies reproch me all the day long and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glorie into shame ? how long shall they love vanitie and seek after lies ?

Thou hast heard the reproches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest mine Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

The

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhor both bloud-thirstie, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appear as the light, and mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer *Shimeis* tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on *David* he might seem to justify his disdainfull reproches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercie for these mine Enemies; that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of xernal fire may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happie to refuse, and put to silence their evil speaking by well doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me *David's* patience, and *Hezekiah's* devotion, that I may look to thy mercie through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let *Shebas* seditious speeches, *Rabshakehs* railing, and *Shimeis* cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my People.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproch of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16 Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinarie parts and pietie, must needs undo whatever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that studie Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of Praier and Devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Soules more immediate converse with the divine Majestie) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms of constant Praiers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluencie; or others, who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane Objections they could against it; especially Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the Doctrine

of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent Actions.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancie abates nothing of the Excellencie and usefulness.

I could never see any reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of Prayer: since he praies to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same Duties upon him, and feels the same daily Wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words: as to what sense, when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? Our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I hear are so impatient not to use in all their Devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and condemn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the Warrant and original Pattern of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expressions in publick Prayer, or any sacred Administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call coldnesse and barrennesse: nor are men in those Novelties

lesse subject to formal and superficial temper (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame. I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporarie varieties, and very fervently devout in the most wonted Expressions: Nor is God more a God of varieties than of constancie: Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and Devotion, than unpremeditated and confused varieties to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the present occasions, yet I know no necessitie why private and single abilities should quite juttle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men, such, as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advice, such Forms of Prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Heavens understanding, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very Life and Soul of Prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his solitarie abilities can be presumed to have, which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptinesse, impertinencie, rudenesse, confusion, flatnesse, levitie, obscuritie, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous Expressions, all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince men but those who glorie in that Pharisaick-way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of

sacred a nature before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in Duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental Administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the Duties, as Forms of publick composition; or else they must every time affect new Expressions when the Subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any man's greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, or order, and gravitie, becoming those Duties; which by this means at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans several manner of officiating, no doubt first occasioned the wisdom and pietie of the ancient Churches, to remedie those mischiefs by the use of constant Liturgies of publick composition.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errors schismes, disorders, and uncharitable Distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pitie.

However, if violence must needs bring in and abet those Innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juggle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service Book; or refused to use it, cried out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the Libertie of their Conscience, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a Directorie, as if the Spirit needed help for invention though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not a much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar)

That further, they should use such severitie as not to suffer without penaltie, any to use the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and obedience to the Laws. Thus I see no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous Actours upon others to conform to their illegal Noveltyes than such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of Lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humour most pretended conscientious Liberties, which Freedom, with much regret they now allow to me, and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve me, whose abilities, even in their extemporarie way comes not short of the others, but their modestie and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober Debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to displease some Faction of the People by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weightie and judicious pietie than those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe was this. That it taught them to pray so oft for me; for which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to say, *Amen*; nor yet Charitie enough to

bear Reproches, and even Cursing of me in their own Forms in stead of Praying for me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that, seeing the Mischiefs which disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of sound and wholesome words.

AND thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancie; thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches united and well advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our Prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervencie of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us;

And then we doubt not but thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious Constancie of our Petitions in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pietie and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor the opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errours consists in noveltie and varietie, as Truths in unitie and constancie: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with Errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of varietie and noveltie. Nor to be deprived of truth, unitie, and

order, under this fallacie, that constancie is the cause of formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal hipocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee with *David*, (and other holy men in the same form cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

17 Of the Differences between the King and the two Houses in point of Church-Govern- ment.

Touching Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Pietie, as Policie, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such a dependance on him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by the Oratorie to let in, or shut out both Peace and Loyaltie.

So that being (as K I N G) intrusted by God and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion that I encline to them for any use to be made

of their Votes in State affairs : Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthie to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charitie be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my Judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and proposed them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scripture, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give me leave having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Bishops (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrarie to the full and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiaised men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly Governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charitie be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their Divine and holy Pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any settled Church wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishops above them, under whose Jurisdiction and Government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, for the setting of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession, (the want of Go-

vernment being that, which the Church can no more dispence with in point of wel being, than the want of the Word and Sacraments in point of being)

I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authoritie, as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, and Apostolical constitution: which to me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the main scope and design of those epistles, for the setting of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authoritie in them as President, Bishops above others in point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiastical Discipline, than those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyters, Bishops and Deacons are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and Communitie of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*; as to the over-sight and care of sing'e Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles or those Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinarie power, there assigned over larger divisions in which were many Presbyters.

The humilitie of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (of a *Messenger*, or *one sent*) to that speciall dignitie which had extraordinarie call: mission, gifts, and power immediatly from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinarie titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill use, (the great arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office indeed were distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinarie and constant power of Governing the Churches, the Honour of (whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches submitting to that speciall authoritie, appropriated also the name of *Bishop*; without any suspicion or reproch of arrogancie, to those who were by Apo-

Apollonically propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of Governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine right) than are the characters of these perilous times and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacie: who, if they be not Traytours and boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of Godliness.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlay and smother the pregnancie and authoritie of that power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posteritie may see (if ever these Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture Canons, and Ecclesiastical examples, whereon my judgement was stated for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it any policie of State, or obstinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to me as to recompence the injuries and losses, I, and my dearest Relations with my Kingdoms, have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best Rule, and the Churches Universal practise the best Commentarie, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot

be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianitie, than it is in all secular and civil Governments, where partie breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion than good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers, who have as much of the Principles of schism and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve Order and Union with Authoritie.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which authoritie they constantly used and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidencie and Authoritie in one man, by the joyned counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those errors, corruptions, and partialities, which are incident to any one man; also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and ~~edious~~ of affairs, which may lie too heavie on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, than such a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not onely the necessitie of avoiding Fa-
ction

tion and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function: but also the differences of some Ministers gifts and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to employ them, in reference to those abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Episcopacie, any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie my self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason, so for examples, and practise of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obruded examples of some late Reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessitie of times and affairs rather excuseth than commendeth for their inconformitie to all Antiquitie; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and Governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather than to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more than Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandell in point of Church-Government; whom though you shall never perswade them, that to complete their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick; Primi-

Primitive, and Apostolicall: So far, that never Schismaticks, nor Hereticks (except those Arians have strayed from the Unity and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Bishop above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my Judgement; and their inconstancie is a great prejudice against their noveltie; I cannot in charitie so far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrarie to their Consciences; so that their facilitie and levitie is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-Government had any face and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against my consent, have not onely quite cried down the Government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops; and many other Church-men, of all their due Authoritie and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army coming into England.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the desertours of Episcopacie will appear the greatest enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest; for Presbyterie is never so considerable or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People and Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcase they are,

are, v
Head
Sworn
A li
mitch
to be
tion v
the r
rupti
being
veng
sons
pract
Fo
of A
my
Cov
men
l. an
gre
wo
eni
obl
pay
vin
ve
th
ma
R
w
to
m
v
w
a
M
v
C

are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon Function, the faults of times or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practice, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authoritie, Civil Honour and Estate, which my Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countreys have annexed to Bishops and Churchmen; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and pietie, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authoritie in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their Authoritie to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthie of those encouragements, and be able to use them: If at any time my Judgement of men failed, my good intention made my error venial: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which, (besides an innate principle of vicious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent

inferioritie, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for my Judgement touching Episcopacy wherein, God knows, I do not gratifie any desire or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force me their KING and Sovereign, as some men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of my Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties. The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I do, That the Church should be Governed as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a Citie or Countrey; or else they denie these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superioritie, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyal passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenus, hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however others men esteem) to me is no lesse sin, than Sacrilege,

or a robbérie of God (the giver of all we have). of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am sworn; How can any man that wisbeth not my damnation, perswade me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacrilege and Perjurie? besides the many personal Injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them: and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelyhoods.

I have often wondered how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation-Oath binds me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preserve, and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade me, That I must, and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange my Oath should be valid in that part, which both my self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unrea-

reasonable, as being against the very natural and essential liberty of our souls; yet it should be valid, and to be broken in another clause. where in I think my self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly I have been held long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and Sacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with me) both Church and State, in civil dissensions; till I shall be forced, to consent, and declare that I approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my soul abhor; as many waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion; and whereto I should shamefully, and dishonourably give my consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfy the divided interest and Opinions of the Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots point of Church-Government be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me to conform to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in this respect) so strictly bound to continue it in this Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places and at all times.

If any shall impute my yielding to them, as a failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse. I being now more convinced in that point: Nor indeed hath my yielding to them been so happy and successfull as to encourage me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice or wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of those men, that I cannot from this

ry natrual a gain the least reputation for their new wayes of
 should be Government.

clause, who Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches
 both to G (whose patterns are so cried up, and obtruded
 upon the Churches under my Dominion) either
 e been held Learning, or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie,
 oufnesse, have so flourished, beyond what they have done
 irth me) be in my Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might
 ntions; til make me believe either Presbyterie or independen-
 are that I cie have a more benign influence upon the Church
 y dislike, and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacie in its
 ighly again right constitution.

nd whereto The abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as
 ably give much as the use retained; for I think it far better
 ing, satisf to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquitie, than
 ns of tho to comply with divided Novelty.

h other, A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all
 cy. just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble
 o the Scots Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church af-
 ightly object fairs should be managed neither with tyrannie, pi-
 ne to confu ritie, nor popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor
 For it show Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

not so rooted And in this integritie both of my Judgement
 or I (in the and Conscience I hope God will preserve me.

think in F Or thou, O Lord, knowest my uprigatnesse,
 o absolute and tenderesse: as thou hast set me to be a De-
 s. fender of the Faith, and a Protestour of thy
 em, as Church, so suffer me not, by any violence, to be
 dge it; overthrone against my Conscience.

much wor Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause; let
 point: Not thy Church be deformed, as to that Govern-
 n so happ ment, which, derived from thy Apostles, hath been
 to grant retained in purest and Primitive times, till the
 Revenues of the Church became the object of se-
 rift, as cular envie; which, seeks to rob it of all the incou-
 nd Loyal ragements of Learning and Religion.

es of Ge Make me, as the good Samaritane, compassio-
 ement to nate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which
 ejudice some men have wounded and robbed, others passe
 hitherto by without regard, either to pitie, or relieve.

n the As my power is from thee, so give me grace to
 from the use it for thee.

And

And though I am not suffered to be Master
my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve
in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion,
thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my co
science as a Christian.

Preserve, from Sacrilegious invasions, the
temporal blessings, which thy providence ha
bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errours, who have d
served thy just permission, thus to let in the wi
Boar and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform th
Vine-yard, which thy right hand hath plant
and the dew of heaven so long watered to a hap
pie and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Po
steritie of being the first Christian KING in th
Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression
thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errour
I would rather, with *Constantine*, cover with si
lence, and reform with meeknesse, than expose the
persons and sacred Functions to vulgar co
tempt.

Thou, O Lord, see'st how much I have suffered
with, and for thy Church: make no long tarrying
O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unre
sonable men, whose counsels have brought forth
and continue such violent confusions, by a prece
pitant destroying the antient boundaries of th
Churches Peace, thereby letting in all manner
errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in th
good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and
confound all the mischievous devices of thine
mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sin
praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation
even before the sons of men.

the Master
preserve
religion, s
in my co

ons, the
vidence ha

no have d
in the wi
deform th
th plant
d to a ha

d to all Po
NG in the
oppression
those error
er with f
expose the
vulgar co

ve suffer
ng tarryin
from unre
ght forth
by a prec
ies of the
manner o

uth, in th
e rage, an
s of thin

, may fin
Salvation

18 Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and other offers made by the KING.

Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring
from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men;
whose strength will be more in their under-
standings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities
to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or
Disposition to it: having greater confidence of my
Reason, than my Sword: I was so wholly resol-
ved to yield to the first, that I thought neither
my self, nor others should need to use the second,
once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a deminution of me,
to prevent them with expresses of my desires,
and even importunities to Treat: It being an of-
fence, not onely of humanity, rather to use
Reason than Force, but also of Christianity to
seek Peace and ensue it.

As I am very unwillingly compelled to de-
fend my self with Arms, so I very willingly em-
braced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very
uncertain, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the
end hardly recompencing and late repairing the
mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had, ever enhaunce
with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired
by me as any man; though I was like to Pay
dearer for it than any man: All that I sought to
reserve was, mine Honour, and my Conscience,
the one I could not part with as a KING, the
other as a Christian.

The Treaty at Uxbridge gave the fairest hopes
of any happy composure; had others applied
themselves to it with the same moderation I did,
I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason,
Honour, and Conscience would give me leave;
nor

Upon

nor were the remaining differences so essential to my Peoples happiness; or of such consequence as in the least kind to have hindered my Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they being enjoyned both, many years, before ever the demands were made, some of which: to desire I think the greatest justice to my self, and favour to my Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: some men are more afraid to retire from violent Engagements, than to Engage: who is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or little losse in War, studied to render the very name of Peace odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of Prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to descend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true Zeal, Charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might seeme to advance true Piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Church Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have else where set down my thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the Primitive Apostolical Patterns, and the practice of the Universal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfy some mens wils and fantasies which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but in extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against it, must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in me as will rather part with the Truth, than mans Peace, & rather lose the Churches Honour, than crosse mens Factionous humours.

so effect God knows and time will discover, who were
 consequent to blame for the un-successfulnesse of that
 my Subject Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-ca-
 they becomities. I beleeve, I am very excusable both be-
 e ever thore God, and all unpassionate men, who have se-
 h: to delously weighed those transactions, wherein I en-
 , and saveeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to
 ay People, than the Preservation of my own
 ayed, as thCrowns to my Posterity.

id to retrSome men have that height, as to interpret all
 ngage: whair condescendings, as arguments of feeblenesse,
 up in perand glory most in an unflexible stiffness when they
 peace, or see others most supple and inclinable to them,

very nameA grand Maxim with them was alwayes to
 ask something, which in reason and honour must
 be denied, that they might have some colour to
 refuse all that was in other things granted; set-
 ting Peace at as high a rate: as the worst effects
 might have of War, endeavouring first to make me to destroy
 whom faction self by dishonourable Concessions, that so
 not engage they might have the lesse to do.

, or lovedThis was all which that Treaty, or any other
 produced, to let the world see how little I would
 might seeeny, or they grant in order to the publick Peace
 ght to coThat it gave occasion to some mens further
 of Orderstivenessse, is imputable to their own depraved
 the Churchumpers, not to any Concessions or Negations of
 raded (saine: I have alwayes the content of what I of-
 ts more fared, and they the regret, and blame, for what
 principles of they refused.

ure and pThe highest tide of successe set me not above
 Apostolica Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight:
 the UniverThough I never thought it any sign of true va-
 lout, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather than
 without a be drawn to produce Our own Reasons, or sub-
 nely to ascribe to other mens.

ch yet agThat which made me for the most Part pre-
 but that sage the unsuccessfulnessse of any Treaty, was
 against some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which im-
 nd in some pphed some things were to be gained by the
 with the Sword, whose unreasonablenessse they were loth-
 the Church to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be
 nouns acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty that Treaties breaking: and give them grace make their advantages, gotten by the Sworn better opportunity to use such moderation, as when wanting; that so though Peace were for sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained, what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou that art the God of Reason & of Peace who disdainest not to Treat with sinners: preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for peace, but when I speak thereof they make ready for war.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth both in Reason, as Men: and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved, and bestow upon us peace which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19 *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats*

THe various successes of this unhappy War have at least, afforded the variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with Victorie, by working my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is the onely

Lord of Hosts; able when he pleases to repress, the confidence of those, who fought against me with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, he let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my Peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my Patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and me: Nor were my enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that justice by open hostility, which was begun by riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagement; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the Worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Soules.

Those with me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification, the Word of God, & the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to my just Commands, but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fear, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick. both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men recalled, who being my Subjects: were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces.

The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second, with the Sword, all their demands against the present Laws and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion against them; some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against me, the Law, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with Truth be applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who, having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were Religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and my self, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience, and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their Bodies being Sanctified, as a means to save their Souls.

Their wounds, and Temporal ruin serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death through Gods grace, effectually disposing their hearts to such Humility, Faith and Repentance which, together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies bitterness and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of, or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against my side in the Field; but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conscience where they are more afraid to encounter than many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which condemn them, and accuse them in their own thoughts, that they oft were, in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave

Faction
nough to
ds again
which ca
not fin
l a Refor
hem; som
call tho
the Law
ed:

ious Tith
nose, who
eir duty in
nd all thar
having no
ion, were
God, the
their souls

id through
eternal life,
ause; The
nctified, as

serving as a
health and
ch of death
posing their
Repentance
of their pre
are them for
enemies bri
eprive them
oy.

etter again
lieve, with
Conscience
ounter the
aw, Alleg
hich consi
noughts, th
y to fight
God gave
Wh

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) than the most triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies survive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences doe pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War; and continuing it thus long against me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation, all honest men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, than to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyn true Piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own souls, as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profane men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any Victory which was without my sorrow, because it was on mine own Subjects; who, like *Abalom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories as might serve to Conquer, but onely Restore the Laws and Liberties of my People; which I saw were extreemly oppressed; together with my Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied me Victory my desire was neither to boast of my power nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War than to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others than over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice. by contrary winds to winnow us. That, by punishing our sins he might purge them from us: and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparedness for it how little I intended it.

The Conscience of my Innocence forbade me to fear a War; but the love of my Kingdom commanded me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this That I gave such advantages to some men by confirming their power, which they knew not how to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine Justice to be quiet, we having conquered his patience, are condemned by continual conquerings to destroy one another: from most prosperous successes on either side to the welfare of the whole.

enied me
of my power
I believed
together

by the Wa
eration, and

f an absolu
r victory over
e first was de
which God

e methods of
to winnow me
ht purge the
he might pe
to use fog

ewed, that
r Concessions
I would have
arednesse for

e forbade me
y Kingdom
id it.

ng, but this
ome men by
y knew not
e, which be
ce.

opposed k
obeyed.

e occasions
clusion, of

le fate of
ld no longer

t, we have
nned by

other: for
r side

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars, that I may know better to obey God, and Govern my People and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor doe I desire any man should be further subject to me, than all of us may be Subject to God.

O My God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self and Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou with-drawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou maiest have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore, both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer, I beseech thee give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end

of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm, and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-denial, as becomes those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War, so for the sins of War thou shouldest see fit still to deny us the blessing of Peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet forgive me thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that Peace which the world can neither give us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects which with infinite unwillingnesse and grief hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that pretious blood, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peace-maker Jesus Christ.

Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20 Upon the Reformation of the times.

NO Glory is more to be envied than that of due Reforming either Church or State when deformities are such, that the perturbations and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me so far, as to make me an instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments intentions to Reform what the indulgence

Infirmities
of Peace

ns to over-
ation, and
ho consider
ommon dis-
good mans

Peace, thou
War, so for-
till to deny
keep us in a
thy Servant,
cts, to enjoy
her given

ny Subjects
and grief
d necessary
ious blood,
great Peace

ortly out of
thing of the
Hypocrites

tion of

than that
a or States
rturbation
the benefi

me so far,
od a work

aments for
wulgence
Time

Times, and corruption of manners might have de-
praved; so I am sorry to see, after the freedom of
Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed,
how little regard was had to the good Laws esta-
blished, and the Religion settled; which ought to
be the first rule and standard of Reforming: with
how much partialitie, and popular compliance, the
Passions, and Opinions of men have been gratifi-
ed, to the detriment of the Publick; and the infi-
nite scandal of the reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Govern-
ment, in the Church; what novelties of Schisms,
and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and con-
fusions in sacred administrations; what sacrilegi-
ous invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of
the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the
Clergie; what injurious diminutions and persecu-
tings of me, have followed, (as showers do warm
gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are
Witness, and with my self sad Spectatours hi-
therto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular
clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputa-
tion of Zeal, and the publick sense so; that the stu-
dy to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are sure
the best tempers of reforming Councils and en-
deavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but
offend more, than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church
affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a
Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results
of whose counsels as they would have included
the Votes of all, so its like they would have given
most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two
Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to ad-
vise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, than
that they are not legally convened and chosen;
nor act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*;
nor with freedom and impartialitie can do any
thing, being limited and confined, if not over-
awed, to do, and declare what they do.

The first Allegations of the
 that hath but power
 second with the sword
 the profane Laws and
 never be such as time
 fault with in as in
 nation of them, as a
 parastich Proverbs
 Martyrs who died for
 their Oaths, and the

But sober Christian
 can with Truth be ap-
 sincerely professed God
 all their particulars but
 was dead in them in
 advantageous design
 Religiously (with)
 Church, and my self,
 both for conscience

God could, and I do
 his mercy, even as
 whole lives over his
 defractions of their
 a means to save them

Their wounds, as
 patients opportunity
 Legation, while the
 through Gods grace
 have to look thither
 which, together with
 fast engagement, we
 a better life than the
 old and deliver for
 clear witness for

They have also
 my life in the Field
 Word of Gods Testimonies
 where they are
 many frequent fasts
 and all such
 without such
 they all come to
 glad that Father

Instrument
 Peace

over-
 on, and
 consider
 mon dif-
 and man

ee, thou
 so for
 to deny
 us in a
 evant,
 to enjoy
 give to

Suicids,
 d grief
 necessary
 s bloud,
 at Peace

ry out of
 g of the
 pocrites

of

an that
 er States
 tribations
 a benefie

so far,
 a work,

nes first
 ence of
 Times

Peace and
 proved, so
 Parliament
 how little
 bished, and
 be the first
 how much
 Passions, an
 ed, to the d
 nce scandal
 What di
 ment, in the
 and corrupt
 fusions in
 one invasion
 the Church
 Clergie, wh
 tings of mo
 gleams) the
 the nolle,
 terro.

The great
 clamours an
 tion of Zeal
 dy to please
 Freedom
 the best ten
 deavours, w
 offend more
 have off
 affairs and
 Synod or Co
 of whose co
 the Votes o
 the satisfaction

The Affe
 Houses have
 wife of Chu
 that they a
 re: act in th
 nor with f
 thing, being
 awed, to do

Peace, and corruption of manners might have de-
 proved, so I am sorry to see, that the freedom of
 Parliament was by *William Twiss* opposed,
 how little regard was had to the good Laws estab-
 lished, and the Religion settled, which ought to
 be the first rule and standard of Reforming: with
 how much partiality, and popular complaisance, the
 Passions, and Opinions of men have been gratified,
 to the detriment of the Publick; and the infinite
 scandal of the reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Govern-
 ment, in the Church; what novelties of Schisms,
 and corrupt opinions; what indecencies and con-
 fusions in sacred administrations; what sacrilegi-
 ous invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of
 the Church, what contumacious and oppressions of the
 Clergie, what injurious discriminations and persecut-
 ings of me, have followed, (as showers do warm
 gleams) the task of Reformation, all sober men are
 sensible, and with my self sad Spectatours hi-
 tero.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular
 clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputa-
 tion of Zeal, and the publick sense so, that the stu-
 dy to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are sure
 the best tempers of reforming Councils and en-
 deavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but
 offend more, than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church
 affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a
 Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results
 of whose counsels as they would have included
 the Votes of all, so its like they would have given
 the most satisfaction, to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two
 Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to ad-
 vise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, than
 that they are not legally convened and chosen;
 they act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*,
 nor with freedom and impartialitie can do any
 thing, being limited and confined, if not over-
 awed, to do, and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolical institution at least, as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrarie Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and Honour of all the Clergie, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all ancient Churches the Laws in force, and my consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that, where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and universal practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or discretion it can pretend to, in a conjecture with Episcopacie; but for that wholly to invade the Power and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authoritie of that ancient order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels: and such (I believe) as would have given more content even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravitie and formalitie, to carrie on other mens designs, which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular Titles of Christs Government

ried up for
 lowed the
 h of Eng-
 suddenly s-
 the last of
 nstitutions
 practice) in
 ir own suf-
 e Factions
 opes, and
 e with so
 e Church,
 ner judge-
 interest and
 of Order,
 oles of all
 d my con-
 st so pre-
 ny under-

ture is not
 the con-
 church, in
 ood Man-
 best Rule

resbytery,
 pretend to,
 for that
 Sword to
 ie of that
 Episcopa-
 way con-

ed mode-
 uld have
 hose Di-
 a Gravitie
 s designa-
 ne disco-
 heir fru-

rists Go-
 vernment

vernment, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at least) also the noise of a through Reformation these may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be Put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church Windows, which time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of Monuments, and inscriptions of the dead, which served but to put Posteritie in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live; The leaving Ministers to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say, *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of seeming at least, to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their prayers, preaching, and other offices. The setting forth also of old Catechismes, and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first principles of Religion.

All these and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babes, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glorie of the Churches through Reformation, since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, than when they began, in point of Pietie, Moraltie, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unani-

mous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my self and all my Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdom, and charitie, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glorie, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of Publick Reformation, to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot subsist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion: for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirm mine, nor overthrow it, since as I own mine from him, so I desire to Rule for his glorie, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against me and one another.

As good ends cannot iustifie evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God by a miracle of mercie, create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

THou, O Lord, who onely canst give beaurie for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own Souls:

That we may in clearnesse of judgement, and uprightnesse of heart be means to Reform what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pitie the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State, Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravitie of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessarie work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward pierie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

21 Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of mine Enemies could

hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civilitie to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthie minds any thing in them could tend so much to my reproch, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Virtue and Noblenesse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon Us by them, from whom We could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers; The freedom and secrecie of which commands a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous, nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publick view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I studie to improve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations; which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own Rights than to procure their Peace and Happinesse, and that extreame grief to see them both deceived, and destroyed.

Nor can any mans malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to see my constancie to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie where the Spider sucks Poyson.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Commonwealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some mens design, like *Absaloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences and exasperate all sides to such distances as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I cannot endly with paines

bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit of greater freedom in writing such Letters which may be lyable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I with nothing more than a happy Composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own then my peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by those my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my own, and my Kingdoms affairs, so as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of evil Counsellours.

It's probable some men will now look upon me as my own Counsellour, and having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Conscience which they labour to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselves, not allowing me to think their Counsels to be other than good for me, which have so long maintained a War against me.

The Victorie they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glorie among the Vulgar; with whom prosperitie gains the greatest esteem and applause; as advertisement exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: As if good fortune were alwayes the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not often attend vitious and injurious actions; as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and

depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdoms: First, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wils and designs of men; He is able and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more than so many papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and honour; which they ow to their KING, present, and after times will judge. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine approbation of such indecent actions if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderneffe, which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justify *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servants of Servants*; which curse needs be on them who seek by dishonourable ac-

ons to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose me, to the highest reproch and contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Countrey, in case they had discovered any real uncomelynesse; which I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought by publishing my private Letters, to have rendered me as a Vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingencies of humane affairs; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of mine enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of *Ahithophel*, turning it to *David's* good, and his own ruin: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.

I must first appeal to thy omniscience, who canst witness with mine integritie, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a cloak.

Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and slander the foot-steps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

...they know no
...and ... to us
...and ... mind any thing
...and ... to my reproch, as
...to the infar
...the greatest
...being disc
...on even
...which are put up
...We can't least have

...I should have
...The Lord of
...a ... all men, in
...to there any thing more
...to public

...providence will
...of my heart (which I
...should be
...of those
...which
...I w

...my most retired
...how the
...I have
...Rights
...and
...and destroyed

...malice be gratified
...for my conscience
...and Religion.
...Poyf

...to avoid the press
...correspond
...who loves
...Subjects
...peace and
...I am

...some mens
...in enormous
...all
...desperate
...I cannot only with

STARK
ey new n
ut
ne any thin
reproch, as
to the infan
ey crime
for a
it and the
are put up
least have
all men, in
thing more
which I
) should be
of those
not retired
how the
I have
destroyed
be gratified
conscience
will
the press
correspond
peace and
some mens
desperate
not only with

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majestie which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me the Crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make me to partake of thy Excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majestie, which becomes the place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glorie, which is both true and eternal.

22 *Upon His Majestie leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.*

Although God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in these he hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safetie and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God: he will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affairs upon his mercie, who hath both heart and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessitie is now my Counsellour, and Commands me to studie my safetie by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This

This my confidence of them, may disarm and overcome them; my rendering my Person to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against me, but for me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyaltie: and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefeft Guard; and my Conscience both my Counsellour and my Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my Soul to God, and my self; nor shall any necessities compel me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way; of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Militarie power to defend my self; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in dutie to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have Adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of War, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse solicitous for my Friends safetie, than mine own; chusing to venture my self upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contest in vain.

I must now studie to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up my Soules Libertie, or make my Conscience their

Cap.

Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded my consent to their new demands.

I thank God no successe, darkens or disguiseth Truth to me; and I shall lesse conform my word to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyall Subjects, full of power.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my self weakened while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light, what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions, not morosely to denie, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids me denie.

I shall never think my self lesse than my self while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of my Conscience, the onely Jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battell, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud, to over-shadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perversnesse of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person Peace, and Safety against those that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces: let a good Conscience alwaies accompany me in my solitude and desertions.

Suffic

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of righteousness, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my waies to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

23 *Upon the Scots delivering the KING to the English; and His Captivity at Holm- bie.*

YET may I Justifie those Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of Israel will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, give me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom; that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black list of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin, nor
gain

gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they got my Person into their power: since my Soul is still my own; nor shall they ever gain my conscience against my conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God account honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath been fought against: nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me, not more a King, and far lesse both man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint, which though it have a little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare: nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul: Better other betray me, than my self; and that the price of my liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can denie with reason, I shall defend the greatest impressions for their malice who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted, nor what to enquire more of me, but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy my self and mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honour of my Crown, and the welfare of my People: which my Word may injure more than any War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Laws will, by Gods blessing revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects, if I but

my Enemies, them not by my Consent, and cover them in that
grave of dishonour, and injustice which some
leens violence hath digged for them

If my Captivity or death must be the price of
their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which
carrieth not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and
Posterities thralldom.

After times may see, what the blindness of
this Age will not; and God may at length shew
my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for
them, than with them; happily I might redeem
my self to some shew of liberty: if I would con-
sent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the
ruin of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants
over them; from whom I pray God deliver them,
whatever become of me, whose solitude hath
not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art
with me, whose presence is better than life, and
whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have
cause to complain for want of that liberty, which
becometh a man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with reason, as a man; with Reli-
gion as a Christian; and with Constancy in justice
as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all out-
ward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those
enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self; and
which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion
to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me. There is no help for
me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance,
upon me, and I shall neither want Safety, Libertie,
nor Majestie.

Give me that measure of Patience and Constancy,
which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from
men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not
thou far from me, lest my enemies prevail too much
against me.

I am become a wonder and a scorn to many :
be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good , that the
that hate me, may be ashamed: because thou Lord
hast holpen and comforted me : establish me with
thy free Spirit that I may do, and suffer thy Will
as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord , for my Soul trusteth
in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings
will I make my refuge until these calamities be
over-past.

Arise to deliver me , make no long tarrying , O
my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust
in thy Mercy, and my Saviours Merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth , though thou
ledest me through the vale and shadow of death,
yet shall I fear none ill.

24 Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive me
of all other civil comforts and secular At-
tendants, I thought the absence of them all might
best be supplied by the attendance of some of my
Chaplains ; whom for their function I reverence
and for their Fidelitie I have cause to love. By
their Learning, Pietie, and Prayers , I hoped to be
either better enabled to sustain the want of all o-
ther enjoyments , or better fitted for the recovery
and use of them in Gods good time : so relying
by their pious help , a spiritual harvest of Grace
amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of tem-
poral crosses.

The truth is , I never needed , or desired
the service and assistance of men judiciously pious
and soberly devout.

The Solitude, they have confined me unto, and
the Wildernesse to my temptations ; For the com-
panie they obtrude upon me , is more sad than
Solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the Militia, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation : But to deny the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbaritie, than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercie of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But my Agonie must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly and discreet Divine; and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envie my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else; They are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the Attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the unchristiannesse of those Denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer mine own Divines before their Ministers: whom though I respect for that worth and pietie which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physicians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these Calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousy of me, or in opposition against me, their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or

mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other Duties; as is meet, and most comfortable; which golden Rule, and bond of perfection consists that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Some Remedies are worse than the Diseases; some comforters more miserable than miserie self, when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade man by betraying his own Innocencie, to despise of Gods mercie; and by justifying their Injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a Friend to all Church-men, that I have any thing in them becomming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded mine own interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom no more I looked upon as Orphans; and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; but thought it my dutie the more to appear as a Father and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhand somely requited by some of them who may live to repent no lesse for my suffering than their ungratefull Errours, and that injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pitie all of them, I despise none; once I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for special Attendants, who were best approved in my judgement, and most suitable to affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens Prayers, than to be forced, or seem to complie with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravitie as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majestie, the Churches honour, and his own vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Majesty for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately, as either wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or respect to the dutie.

I confesse, I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick Formis of Prayers, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities, because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn my heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency, which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the servencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasional, solitary, and social Devotions.

So that I must need seem to all equal minds with as much reason to prefer the service of my own Chaplains before that of their Ministers; as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Carechized, not acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that as by any certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and defused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men: a great part of whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Va soli*, than to that of *Va vobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Deniers sufficient of my self to discharge my Dutie to God as a Priest, though not to men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sac-
 dotal, might well become the same Person;
 anciently they were under one name, and
 united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I
 know better Presidents, if I were able, than the
 two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*;
 more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, the
 one was for devout Psalms and Prayers, the
 other for his divine Parables and Preaching;
 whence the one merited and assumed the name
 of a Prophet, and the other of a Preacher. Tides
 indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed,
 than any of those the Roman Emperours affe-
 from the Nations they subdued: it being
 infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to
 Church by the Word, than to conquer men
 subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and
 providence hath, for the most part, alwayes dis-
 tinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Princes
 of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewell
 Christian Churches: I am sorrie to find me
 reduced to the necessitie of being both, or
 joying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly
 and Sovereigntie; would no lesse enforce
 live many Months without all Prayers, Sa-
 craments, and Sermons, unlesse I become mine
 Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergie the protection of a Ch-
 an KING, so I desire to enjoy from them
 benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I
 upon as more prevalent than mine own, or
 mens; by how much they flow from minds
 enlightened, and affection lesse distracted,
 those, which are encombred with secular
 besides, I think a greater blessing and accep-
 tance attends those Duties, which are rightly
 formed, as proper to, and within the limits of
 calling, to which God and the Church have
 specially designed and consecrated some men;
 however, as to that Spiritual Government
 which the devout Soul is subject to Christ

through his merits daily offers it self and its services to GOD; every private believer is a King and Priest; invested with the Honour of a Royal Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiastical order, and the outward politie of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest, and I think more pious Principles: the conscioussnesse to my spiritual defects make me more prize and desire those pious assistance, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me, especially in these Extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousy and offence to deny me, than this of having some means afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and pieties, no lesse than for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but onely this, that they may seem too able, and too well affected toward me and my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordina'y means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help mine Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I

hope he will) I shall need no other, either O
tutor or Instructor.

TO thee therefore, O my God, do I direct
now solitarie prayers; what I want of others he
supply with the more immediate assistances of
Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my da
nesse, and quicken my dulnesse.

O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred Fo
tain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear
warm my heart, both by instructing of me,
interceding for me: In thee is all fulnesse; F
thee all sufficiencie: By thee is all accepta
Thou art companie enough, and comfort enou
Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and
Priest: Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me,
be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of *Jacob* prevailed w
thee, in that sacred Duel when he had none to
cond him but thy self; who didst assist him w
power to overcome thee, and by a welcome v
lence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite men
whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt
sociated Devotions of others, whose serve
might inflame the coldnesse of my affection
wards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Ho
with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipp
thee in the unitie of spirits, and with the bond
Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving
those happie oportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a
lican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on
house top, and as a Coal scattered from all
pious glowings, and devout reflections, w
might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the
ly fire of thy graces on the Altar of my h
whence the sacrifice of prayers and incense of
ses might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Re
nor quencheest the smoking Flax, do not de
the weakness of my prayers, nor the smothered

either O my soul in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deatnesse incline thine ear to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand shortened, that it cannot help me thy deplorable Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; But they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, wellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oil in the cruse fail the Widow during the time of drought of dearth.

O look on my soul which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving truths which I have formerly learned now fail my memorie; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinarie and wholesome food for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than

teaching me; whose mouths are proner to blaspemy
reproches of me, than to heartie prayers for me, and me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft thou hast
wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens balms break my head, & their cordials oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the sword of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire delight in the prosperitie of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25 Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING solitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of me, I crie, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eies; neverthelesse thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I crie unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extreame to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? but there is mercie with thee, that thou mayest be feared, therefore shall sinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminence of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personal, and my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have

ner to be improved the power thou gavest me to thy glorie,
ers for me and my Subjects good : Thou hast now brought
how oft thou hast from the glorie and freedom of a King, to be a
destruction Prisoner to my own Subjects : Justly, O Lord, as
and my people to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things
nation. I have rebelled against thee.

let colour : Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet en-
the house enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards
God. me.

y head, I come far short of *Dauids* pietie ; yet since I
will evermore may equal *Dauids* afflictions, give me also the
comforts and the sure mercies of *David*.

es, from the Let the penitent sense I have of my sins be an
d the sword evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

ord, and all Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms
ho desire have suffered, seem little unto thee ; though thou
I, and what hast not punished us according to our sins.

dnesse, and Turn thee (O Lord) unto me ; have mercie up-
d my God, on me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged ; O bring
thou me out of my troubles.

itations Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up
KINGS thy loving kindnesse in displeasure ?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy lo-
ving kindnesse ; which have been for many gene-
rations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to
see thy godnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of
the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial consume the drosse which in
ong peace and plentie we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw
not thy grace ; what is wanting of prosperities,
ake up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away,
out thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still ;

Let it I beseech thee be against me and my Fathers
house ; as for these sheep, what have they done ?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and
thy Churches enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure
of my charitie.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge; I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept my Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember me, and my Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Gospel and setting thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glorie of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to self in pietie, to me in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of these civil Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedom of our publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of our Parliaments from the insolence of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience, especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapine and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glorie be dearer to me than Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice; and my Kingdoms with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever as the rightfull succession; so the mercifull restoration of my Kingdoms, and the glorie of thee.

venge, the
the glori

ve them, b
ney have do

given me
d accept d

me, and
of thy Gol
us.

ie Laws,

n Church

to the An
ts.

people to
to one

withdraw

edom of
mour of
ulgar.

reat offen
science,
gious rip

itie to gl
Church

magnit

o me the
true Rel
efest car
Justice)

I ever
rcifull
ie of d

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safetie
and honour, to my chiefeſt Citie, and my Par
liament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into
my hand to puniſh and proteſt.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my
very enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and
reſolution of Chriſtian charitie, which I now make
unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Chriſts ſake thoſe
that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand
ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what
is paſt, in regard of any particular injurie done
to me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnat
ural diviſions; for thy ſake, O Lord, and for the
love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my
heart, That I will uſe all means in the wayes of
amneſty and indempnitie which may moſt fully
remove all feares, and burie all jealousies in for
getfulneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my
reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my
People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out
of fained lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my
prayer; nor taken his mercie from me.

O my ſoul, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in
him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what
am I: that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken,
Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happie, if
not by me, yet without me.

26 *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the KING at Holmeby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the Citie.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange Scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man who oonly seeks to represent a part of honestie and Honour.

This surprize of me tels the World, That a KING cannot be so low, but he is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentricque and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen, and sounds too like the surie of those zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison,
but

Surpri-
Holme-
distrac-
ses, the

ow to aſſe
nge Scene
ous ; ſome
who oarely
and Ho-

, That a
conſider-
ere he ap-

ſeems ex-
be refitted
ream, than

ſe twins,
anger ſtri-
the Preſ-
pendents

own from
other, ſo
go farther

om divi-
for thoſe
ide their
d ſounds
hoſe inte-
greateſt
of that

Prison,
but

not my captive condition, onely with this
pe of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much
ſeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties,
not be utterly againſt the Libertie of their
ING ; what they demand for their own
onſciences, they cannot in Reason denie to
ine.

In this they ſeem more ingenious, than the
reſbyterian rigour, who ſometimes complain-
g of exacting their conformitie to laws, are
come the greateſt Exactours of other mens
bmiſſion to their novel injuctions, before
ey are ſtamped with the Authoritie of Laws,
hich they cannot well have without my con-
it.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents
ink themſelves manumitted from their Rivals
vice, in that they carrie on a buſineſſe of ſuch
nſequence, as the aſſuming my Perſon into the
nies cuſtodie, without any Commiſſion but that
their own will and power. Such as will thus
venture on a King, muſt not be thought over-
deſt, or timorous to carrie on any deſign they
ve a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the
70 Houſes and the Citie ; which ſoon after
ting over again that former part of tumultuarie
otions, (never questioned, puniſhed, or repent-
t) muſt now ſuffer for both ; and ſee their for-
er ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and di-
rrections.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the
and of divine Juſtice ; they that by Tumults
rſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now
e chattered by their own Armie for new Tu-
ults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin
ut adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the for-
ner ; ſuch as were content to ſee me and many
Members of both Houſes driven away by the
irrit unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to
By to an Armie, or defend themſelves againſt
them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some justice? the Members of both Houses who first withdrew, (as my self was forced to) from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Desertours, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Armie: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettours of Tumultuarie insolencies and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

This is power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rulers of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good: the Authours and Abettours of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before they were counted as Friends and necessarie Assistants.

I see vengeance pursues and overtakes (as mice and rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnablely against it, both by their multitude and complicity.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, and with sorrow and pitié; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking; I now

had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyaltie to me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never beleev'd malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly pass'd over them, upon whom I look, as Christ did sometimes over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their dutie: fatal blindness frequently attending and punishing wilfulness, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder than to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanisie, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law; the onely center of publick consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws than to the various wills of any men; seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and end in a refractory sullenness: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable as they act or according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publick peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just, no man being more prone to consider them than my self; though they have fought against me; yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry

lantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain my self, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinitie, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the striving of my people, and make me to see how much they need praier, and pitie, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peace, from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have me; that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillitie which thou alone canst give me.

Divert I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plentie is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wile to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glorie and the publick peace; lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them that they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroied who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee, and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves than ever they did against me.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches

with
my self,
ace, as
propor.

ity in a
om thy

, and
er, and
yet are
to the

from
not in
nt and

lt lead
ich me
varie-

ve me
inqui.

a just-
whose
luxury,
multi-
curity

wile
hings
peace;
rmed

who
rmed
isting
Rons
hem-

their
iches



Natus Mar 29^o. 1630

Ætatis suæ 19.

riches
and th
Tho
helped
ruin.

Let
have d
them)
mer t
and in
Fath
they d

The
condi
selves
cause

O
Child
not th

But
didst
by m
of th
justic

2

SO
SI
Con
rouc

rema
to y
ed;

you
of a
may

the
the

It
inju
and

riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruin.

Let me not so much consider either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities, to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, nor the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercie, than of mans crueltie or thy own justice.

27. To the Prince of Wals.

So, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience, and my most impartiall thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands. to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed, whereof a pious is the best use can be made, and they may also give you some directions how to remedy the present distampers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injurie of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of

of my self, and usefull to you ; That neither you
nor anie other, may hereafter measure my Cause by
the Successe ; nor my Judgement of things by my
misfortuues ; which I count the greater by far,
because they have so far lighted upon you , and
some others ; whom I have most cause to love as
well as my self; and of whose unmerited sufferings
I have a greater sense then of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above
most Princes ; that you have begun and now spend
some years of discretion, in the experience of trou-
bles, and exercise of patience , wherein Piety , and
all Virtues , both Moral and Political are com-
monly better planted to a thriving, (as trees
set in winter) than in the warmth , and serenity
of times ; or amidst those delights , which usually
attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plen-
ty ; which are prone , either to root up all plants
of true Virtue and Honour ; or to be contented
onely with some leaves , and withering formal-
ties of them , without any real fruits , such as
tend to the Publick good ; for which Princes
should alwaies remember they are born, and by
providence designed .

The evidence of which different education the
holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *Da-
vid* and *Rehoboam*. The one prepared , by many
afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom , the other
softned by the unparall'd prosperitie of *Solomon*'s
Court; and so corrupted to the great deminution,
both for Peace, Honour, & Kingdom, by those flat-
teries , which are as unseparable from prosperous
Princes , as flies are from fruit in summer , whom
adversity, like cold weather drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon* , than
le Grand , good then great ; I hope God hath de-
signed you to be both, having so early put you to
that exercise of his Graces , and gifts bestowed
upon you , which may best weed out all vicious
inclinations , and dispose you to those Princely
endowments, and employments , which will most
gain the love , and intend the welfare of those
over whom God shall place you.

With

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign disposer of the Kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty you can attain to is, to be subject to him; that the Sceptre of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glorie of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glorie in the maintenaunce of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civil Power, with Justice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which Centre of true Happinesse God, I trust hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drunk, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well grounded and settled in your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessarie for your souls than your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion,

lion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for Peace and Patience they cry out Zeal.

So that unlesse in this point you be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where besides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion to be thought zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions: or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgment, and the Church well settled; your partial adhering, as head, to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others; who think themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone. The Serpent will devour the Dove; you may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their interest is alwayes made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may hear
from

from them *Jacobs* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esaus* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*; for many years; so compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to mens judgements: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sittings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations) so did all at first, who affected any novelties adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (than) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master: til time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churchs peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectual suppressing errors and Schismes, which seem at first but as a hand-breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of those Kingdoms to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves, whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace

peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as that by its heaviness oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety, to the Head but a necessary debilitation and ruin.

Your prerogative is best shewed & exercised in remitting rather than exacting the rigor of the laws, there being nothing worse than legal Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproch of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own Conscience; Throublers of my Kingdoms having nothing else to object against me but this, That I prefer Religion and Lawes established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with, as to the removal of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own Soul, the Church, and my People, and to you also, as the next undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To

157
To which if the divine Providence to whom
no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due
time after my decease bring you, as I hope he
will, my counsel and charge to you, is, That
you seriously consider the former, real, or ob-
jected miscarriages, which might occasion my
troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single
counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing
affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters
of Religion and Justice) as no create in your
self, or others, a diffidence of your own judge-
ment which is likely to be alwayes more con-
stant and impartial to the interests of your
Crown and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions
by the crossnesse, and asperity of some mens
passions, humours, or private opinions; im-
ployed by you, grounded onely upon the dif-
ferences in lesser matters, which are but the
skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chri-
stian toleration often dissipates their strength,
whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts
the despised and oppressed Party, into such Com-
binations, as may most enable them to get a full
revenge on those they count their Persecutours,
who are commonly assisted by that vulgar com-
miseration, which attends all, that are said to
suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an in-
solent opposition of Laws, and Government, or
Religion established, as to the essentials of them,
such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid piety, and those funda-
mental Truths (which mend both hearts & lives
of men) with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and for-
malities of Religion devour not all, or the best in-
couragements of learning, industry, and piety, but
with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distri-
bute favours and rewards to all men, as you find
them for their real goodnesse both in abi-
lities

lities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of vertue at any time sweetened by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Laws established, in Church and State) and sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: As the wolf is not lesse cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a wolf under Sheps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicitie follow those disguises; my charge and counsel to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any designs (as other men) so you studie really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse pietie and vertue, towards the people) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion, so you shall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodnesse) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people; who cannot in reason, promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous conduct of their King.

When these mountains of congealed Faction shall by the Sun-shine of Gods mercie, and the

spl
pate
that
Lib
enti
of th
then
veng
suffic
Bu
emul
clem
the c
I
livio
all,
way
serv
rities
I w
way
ed, l
poli
choi
It
thos
God
this
form
ment
can
Be
who
mali
of th
No
and
their
own
and
their
As
any
spl

splendour of your virtues be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences, than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicatours of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray you to any studie of revenge upon those whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of Factionous emulations is drawn out, use all Princely arts, and clemencie to heal the wound; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwayes propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired, and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policie and necessitie, but Christian charitie and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, than any prosperitie can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done a misse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and you, than those Subjects, who sensible of their errours, and our injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defect.

As your qualitties set you beyond any Duel with any Subject; so the noblenesse of Your mind must

must raise you above the meditating any
venge, or executing your anger upon the
ny.

The more conscious you shall be to your own
merits, upon your People, the more prone you
will be to expect all love and loyalty from them,
and to inflict no punishment upon them for their
former miscarriages: you will have more inward
complacencie in pardoning, one than in punishing
a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's
mercie, and my Subjects affections towards you,
both which I hope you will studie to deserve;
yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own
mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you
reter me, to those injoyments, which the Law
have assigned to us; and no Subjects without a
high degree of guilt and sin can develt us off;
then may I have better opportunitie, when I
shall be so happie to see you in peace, to let you
more fully understand the things that belong to
Gods glorie, your own Honour, and the King-
doms peace.

But if you never see my face again, and
God will have me buried in such a barbarous
Imprisonment and obscuritie (which the per-
fecting some mens designs require) wherein
hearts that love me are permitted to exchange
a word, or a look with me; I do require
intreat you as your Father, and your KING
that you never suffer your heart to receive
least check against, or disaffection from
true Religion established in the Church of
land.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much
and many disputes, have concluded it to be
in the world; not onely in the Community
Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as
formed; keeping the middle way between
pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the mean-
of fantastick Anarchie.

Not but that, the draught being excellent

the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetening or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some men's precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who have been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true piety, both of them are to be known by their fruits; the sweetness of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminish your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much blasted by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments, after this more cautious to preserve that

H

Freedom

Freedom, and Honour, which belongs to
Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken
this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) since the pub-
lick interest consists in the mutual and common
good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in
fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute
their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by
publick consent; without Tyranny or Tumult.
We must not starve our selves, because some
men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I, nor you be ever restored to our
Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish
my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and
suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of
their wickednesse: I hope God will give me and
you, that grace, which will teach and enable us
to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is
not worth taking up, or injoying upon sordid,
dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and
honour; you shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of your honour wil consist in
your preferring all respect, love, and protection to
your Mother, my Wife; who hath many ways
deserved well of me, & chiefly in this, that (having
been a means to blesse me with so many hopeful
Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recom-
mend to your love, and care) She hath been con-
stant with incomparable magnanimity and patience
to suffer both for, and with me, and you.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever be-
comes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and
fortified in my own innocency, and his Grace,
that he would be pleased to make you an
Achour, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and
other-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your wis-
dom, justice, pietie, and valour, of what the
folly and wickednesse of some men have so
ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or
State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergy,
or the Commons either as to Lawes, Liberties,
Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or lives.

W

When they have destroyed me, (for I knew not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted me, or engaged against me through the artifice and hypocrisie of their leaders, whose inward horror will be their first Tormentour, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved me, I pray God, they may have no misse of me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope; that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their dutie toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King; so I believe you will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In sum, what good I intended, do you perform; when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruel usage, that they sought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicitie.

I pray God blesse you, and establish your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by

my destruction, let my memorie ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father that loves you: and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the privilege of Parliaments, the liberties of my People, and my own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore me to my Rights. I cannot despair either of his mercie, or of my Peoples love and pitie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28 Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Ad- dresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in Ca- risbrook-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which giveth me the space; but mans crueltie, that giveth me the Occasions for these thoughts.

For besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions; whose envie or enmity

against me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my prosperitie made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie :

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwayes uncertain: Death being an Eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp: since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death against them; which as to the immaturitie, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life, nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make me sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a King, I think my self to live in no-

thing temporall so much, as in the love and goodwill of my People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, my Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostilitie to destroy, first the Love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life; and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body, and which are lessened or enlarged: as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yield much sweetness to those, that dare to encounter and overcome them: who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourd, without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man: is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects beheld, my helpless Spectatours, my Enemies insolent, my vilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason,

and good-
ve suffered
at point as
y Enemies
violence of
d Loyalty
that content
ly enjoyed
f life, and
which their
from me;
rldly com-
le to men.
e too long;
any oppor-
with such
in a good
ar lives, and

an valour; it
out of wea-
roick great-
ftian in the
e afflictions,
d us, while
e lessened of
erity moves
ce is best re-

terrible, like
sweetness to
er come them
witherings of
peevishness
od.
tain; the
own Subjects
death, in
of my King
subjects be
insolent
living, dy
reason,

God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as
of mans cruelty; however, I despair not of
Gods infinite mercie.

I know my life is the object of the Devils and
wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods sole cu-
stody and disposal: whom I do not think to flatter
for longer life by seeming prepared to die: but
I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit
to his will both in life and death in what order
soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. I
confesse it is not easie for me to contend with
those many horrors of death, wherewith God suf-
fers me to be tempted, which are equally horrid,
either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination;
or in those greater formalities, whereby my E-
nemies (being more solemnly cruel) will: it may be,
seek to adde (as those did, who crucified Christ)
the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of malice:
That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp
and artifice, so with lesse pitié, it will be but a ne-
cessarie policy to make my death appear as an act
of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign:
who know that no Law of God, or Man
invests them with any power of Judicature with-
out me, much lesse against me: and who, being
sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God
and man, to endeavour my preservation, must
pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his
Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but
most desperate, when this is acted by the insol-
ence of Subjects against their Sovereign: wherein
those who have had the chiefest hand, and are
most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles,
must by shedding my blood, seem to wash their
own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they
are most evidently guilty before God and man;
and I believe, in their own consciences too; while
they carried on unreasonable demands' first
by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes
mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing
their usurped power against their lawfull Su-
perious than this, the *Guilt of their*

just usurpation, notwithstanding, those furious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vine-yard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, my greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy my self with the Church and State by my Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of mine could ever yet satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my Protector, and my Advocate, who is my only Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who know them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patroness of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Male Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me.

Their impatience to hear the loud cry of blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs, who wish them, most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction are already presaged and confirmed to me: those that I have lived to see since my trouble

in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded my cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up death in the victory of his Resurrection and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousness sake. (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon and victory over my Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them further than to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present, the will of my Enemies seems to be their onely Rule, their power the Measure, and their successe the Exactour, of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by my danger, and the security of their lives & designs by my Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death are embroiled with my blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think, becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands take it from me; whose mercie I believe, will more than infinitely recompence what ever by mans justice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glorie attending my death will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crown of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessarie tyrannie of my destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyrannie against me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who do not onely pitie and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me or for me.

These know how to excuse my failings, as a man, and yet to persin and pay their dutie to me as their King; there being no religious necessitie binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; especially there, where more and sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others I believe, of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by my ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences, where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is extraordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest

people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authoritie: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the cause so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my causlesse enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and clearnesse of my Conscience before God and toward my people will carrie me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times, those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinit more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the just Libertie of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, than if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetening of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my enemies, than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, wherewith these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as He is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace, for all which, I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but Mortalitie Crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death which I ow for sin to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and, although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of other sins as men, both against God and me; yet, as I hope my own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charitie will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which, I pray God they may obtain: that my temporal death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternal damnation of the meaneest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing

the ship to shore, when they have cast me over
board; though it be very strange, that Mariners
can find no other means to appease the storm them-
selves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my enemies crueltie cannot prevent
my preparation; whose malice in this I shall de-
feat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to
have destroyed my Soul with my Body; of whose
salvation, while some of them have themselves
seemed, and taught others to despair, they have
only discovered this, that they do not much de-
sire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, de-
nying me even the assistance of any of my Chap-
lains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstru-
cted my access to the Throne of Heaven:

WHere thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who
fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of
eternal life; in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Afflicter of death
upon us; and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and
from it.

Yes, it is better for us to be dead to our selves,
and live in thee; than by living in our selves to
be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my
death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities
and advantages of thy special graces and com-
forts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither
fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the
valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak
and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of
thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal
God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die
with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to
passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeem-
er livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou
hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wils be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their dutie to thee and me; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many that Crucified him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my murderers, louder than the crie of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercie by due conviction of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions.

Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

O deal not with them as blood-thirstie and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charitie.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the spacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercie at last receive both me and my enemies:

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaid in thy ever blessed Eternitie.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy Salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.



HIS MAJESTIES PRAYERS in the time of his RESTRAINT.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.



Powerfull and Eternal
God! to whom nothing
is so great, that it may
resist; or so small, that
it is contemned; look
upon My Miserie with
Thine eye of Mercie,
and let Thine infinite
power vouchsafe to li-
mit out some proporti-
on of deliverance unto

Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not
Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My
faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not
My unjust enemies the ministers of Thy Justice:
But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom this be the
spettest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressi-
ons, if this ingratefull bondage be fittest for My
over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough
humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I
yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what
sorrow Thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus
much let Me crave of Thee, (Let My graving, O
Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from
Thee) that by Thy goodnesse which is Thy self,
Thou wilt suffer some beam of Thy Majestie to
shine in My mind that I, who acknowledge it My
Noblest Title to be Thy Creature, may still de-
pend confidently on Thee in My greatest Aff-
lictions. Let Calamitie be the exercise but not
overthru

overth
ing p
will
nism
have
mind
witho
ble C
that a
dom,
Savio

A
Our
Thy
hope
our b
sins fr
most
been
griev
ledge
wise t
it thro
bloud
Justice
Worsh
the Bi
and g
the p
the D
When
no ho
cies;
prayer
so to
prayer
own
last g
served

P R A Y E R

overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment; yet O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and steadfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee; so that at the last I may come to Thy eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confession made in and for the times of Affliction.

Almighty and most mercitull Father, as it is onely Thy goodness that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of Thy accepting, or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary dutie to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood, to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship, to be set up in *Scotland*? and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no, but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-enformed Conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore mercitull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou maiest clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time, give Me Pa-

tience

PRAYERS.

74
be
a
O
ha
th
cu
a
n
v
w
o
re
th
h
e
c
h
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000
1001
1002
1003
1004
1005
1006
1007
1008
1009
1010
1011
1012
1013
1014
1015
1016
1017
1018
1019
1020
1021
1022
1023
1024
1025
1026
1027
1028
1029
1030
1031
1032
1033
1034
1035
1036
1037
1038
1039
1040
1041
1042
1043
1044
1045
1046
1047
1048
1049
1050
1051
1052
1053
1054
1055
1056
1057
1058
1059
1060
1061
1062
1063
1064
1065
1066
1067
1068
1069
1070
1071
1072
1073
1074
1075
1076
1077
1078
1079
1080
1081
1082
1083
1084
1085
1086
1087
1088
1089
1090
1091
1092
1093
1094
1095
1096
1097
1098
1099
1100
1101
1102
1103
1104
1105
1106
1107
1108
1109
1110
1111
1112
1113
1114
1115
1116
1117
1118
1119
1120
1121
1122
1123
1124
1125
1126
1127
1128
1129
1130
1131
1132
1133
1134
1135
1136
1137
1138
1139
1140
1141
1142
1143
1144
1145
1146
1147
1148
1149
1150
1151
1152
1153
1154
1155
1156
1157
1158
1159
1160
1161
1162
1163
1164
1165
1166
1167
1168
1169
1170
1171
1172
1173
1174
1175
1176
1177
1178
1179
1180
1181
1182
1183
1184
1185
1186
1187
1188
1189
1190
1191
1192
1193
1194
1195
1196
1197
1198
1199
1200
1201
1202
1203
1204
1205
1206
1207
1208
1209
1210
1211
1212
1213
1214
1215
1216
1217
1218
1219
1220
1221
1222
1223
1224
1225
1226
1227
1228
1229
1230
1231
1232
1233
1234
1235
1236
1237
1238
1239
1240
1241
1242
1243
1244
1245
1246
1247
1248
1249
1250
1251
1252
1253
1254
1255
1256
1257
1258
1259
1260
1261
1262
1263
1264
1265
1266
1267
1268
1269
1270
1271
1272
1273
1274
1275
1276
1277
1278
1279
1280
1281
1282
1283
1284
1285
1286
1287
1288
1289
1290
1291
1292
1293
1294
1295
1296
1297
1298
1299
1300
1301
1302
1303
1304
1305
1306
1307
1308
1309
1310
1311
1312
1313
1314
1315
1316
1317
1318
1319
1320
1321
1322
1323
1324
1325
1326
1327
1328
1329
1330
1331
1332
1333
1334
1335
1336
1337
1338
1339
1340
1341
1342
1343
1344
1345
1346
1347
1348
1349
1350
1351
1352
1353
1354
1355
1356
1357
1358
1359
1360
1361
1362
1363
1364
1365
1366
1367
1368
1369
1370
1371
1372
1373
1374
1375
1376
1377
1378
1379
1380
1381
1382
1383
1384
1385
1386
1387
1388
1389
1390
1391
1392
1393
1394
1395
1396
1397
1398
1399
1400
1401
1402
1403
1404
1405
1406
1407
1408
1409
1410
1411
1412
1413
1414
1415
1416
1417
1418
1419
1420
1421
1422
1423
1424
1425
1426
1427
1428
1429
1430
1431
1432
1433
1434
1435
1436
1437
1438
1439
1440
1441
1442
1443
1444
1445
1446
1447
1448
1449
1450
1451
1452
1453
1454
1455
1456
1457
1458
1459
1460
1461
1462
1463
1464
1465
1466
1467
1468
1469
1470
1471
1472
1473
1474
1475
1476
1477
1478
1479
1480
1481
1482
1483
1484
1485
1486
1487
1488
1489
1490
1491
1492
1493
1494
1495
1496
1497
1498
1499
1500
1501
1502
1503
1504
1505
1506
1507
1508
1509
1510
1511
1512
1513
1514
1515
1516
1517
1518
1519
1520
1521
1522
1523
1524
1525
1526
1527
1528
1529
1530
1531
1532
1533
1534
1535
1536
1537
1538
1539
1540
1541
1542
1543
1544
1545
1546
1547
1548
1549
1550
1551
1552
1553
1554
1555
1556
1557
1558
1559
1560
1561
1562
1563
1564
1565
1566
1567
1568
1569
1570
1571
1572
1573
1574
1575
1576
1577
1578
1579
1580
1581
1582
1583
1584
1585
1586
1587
1588
1589
1590
1591
1592
1593
1594
1595
1596
1597
1598
1599
1600
1601
1602
1603
1604
1605
1606
1607
1608
1609
1610
1611
1612
1613
1614
1615
1616
1617
1618
1619
1620
1621
1622
1623
1624
1625
1626
1627
1628
1629
1630
1631
1632
1633
1634
1635
1636
1637
1638
1639
1640
1641
1642
1643
1644
1645
1646
1647
1648
1649
1650
1651
1652
1653
1654
1655
1656
1657
1658
1659
1660
1661
1662
1663
1664
1665
1666
1667
1668
1669
1670
1671
1672
1673
1674
1675
1676
1677
1678
1679
1680
1681
1682
1683
1684
1685
1686
1687
1688
1689
1690
1691
1692
1693
1694
1695
1696
1697
1698
1699
1700
1701
1702
1703
1704
1705
1706
1707
1708
1709
1710
1711
1712
1713
1714
1715
1716
1717
1718
1719
1720
1721
1722
1723
1724
1725
1726
1727
1728
1729
1730
1731
1732
1733
1734
1735
1736
1737
1738
1739
1740
1741
1742
1743
1744
1745
1746
1747
1748
1749
1750
1751
1752
1753
1754
1755
1756
1757
1758
1759
1760
1761
1762
1763
1764
1765
1766
1767
1768
1769
1770
1771
1772
1773
1774
1775
1776
1777
1778
1779
1780
1781
1782
1783
1784
1785
1786
1787
1788
1789
1790
1791
1792
1793
1794
1795
1796
1797
1798
1799
1800
1801
1802
1803
1804
1805
1806
1807
1808
1809
1810
1811
1812
1813
1814
1815
1816
1817
1818
1819
1820
1821
1822
1823
1824
1825
1826
1827
1828
1829
1830
1831
1832
1833
1834
1835
1836
1837
1838
1839
1840
1841
1842
1843
1844
1845
1846
1847
1848
1849
1850
1851
1852
1853
1854
1855
1856
1857
1858
1859
1860
1861
1862
1863
1864
1865
1866
1867
1868
1869
1870
1871
1872
1873
1874
1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880
1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
1900
1901
1902
1903
1904
1905
1906
1907
1908
1909
1910
1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
1917
1918
1919
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024
2025
2026
2027
2028
2029
2030
2031
2032
2033
2034
2035
2036
2037
2038
2039
2040
2041
2042
2043
2044
2045
2046
2047
2048
2049
2050
2051
2052
2053
2054
2055
2056
2057
2058
2059
2060
2061
2062
2063
2064
2065
2066
2067
2068
2069
2070
2071
2072
2073
2074
2075
2076
2077
2078
2079
2080
2081
2082
2083
2084
2085
2086
2087
2088
2089
2090
2091
2092
2093
2094
2095
2096
2097
2098
2099
2100
2101
2102
2103
2104
2105
2106
2107
2108
2109
2110
2111
2112
2113
2114
2115
2116
2117
2118
2119
2120
2121
2122
2123
2124
2125
2126
2127
2128
2129
2130
2131
2132
2133
2134
2135
2136
2137
2138
2139
2140
2141
2142
2143
2144
2145
2146
2147
2148
2149
2150
2151
2152
2153
2154
2155
2156
2157
2158
2159
2160
2161
2162
2163
2164
2165
2166
2167
2168
2169
2170
2171
2172
2173
2174
2175
2176
2177
2178
2179
2180
2181
2182
2183
2184
2185
2186
2187
2188
2189
2190
2191
2192
2193
2194
2195
2196
2197
2198
2199
2200
2201
2202
2203
2204
2205
2206
2207
2208
2209
2210
2211
2212
2213
2214
2215
2216
2217
2218
2219
2220
2221
2222
2223
2224
2225
2226
2227
2228
2229
2230
2231
2232
2233
2234
2235
2236
2237
2238
2239
2240
2241
2242
2243
2244
2245
2246
2247
2248
2249
2250
2251
2252
2253
2254
2255
2256
2257
2258
2259
2260
2261
2262
2263
2264
2265
2266
2267
2268
2269
2270
2271
2272
2273
2274
2275
2276
22

His M A J E S T I E S Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to deliver in writing on Munday Januarie 22. Anno Dom. 1648.

HAVING already made my Proteſtations not
Honely againſt the Illegalitie of this pretended
Court, but alſo that no earthly Power can juſtly
call me (who am your K I N G) in queſtion as a
Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth
upon this occaſion, more than to refer my ſelf to
what I have ſpoken, were I alone in this caſe con-
cerned. But the dutie I ow to God, in the preſer-
vation of the true libertie of my People, will not
ſuffer me at this time to be ſilent: For how can
any Free-born Subject of *England* call Life or any
thing he poſſeſſeth his own, if Power without
Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fun-
damental Law of the Land? which I now take to
be the preſent caſe. Wherefore when I came hi-
ther, I expected that you would have endeavoured
to have ſatiſfied me concerning theſe grounds
which hinder me to Answer to your pretended
Impeachment; but ſince I ſee that nothing I can
ſay will move you to it (though Negatives are not
ſo naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will
ſhew you the Reason why I am confident you
cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in
England; for, I will not (like you) without ſhewing
a Reason, ſeek to impoſe a belief upon my Subjects.
* Hereabout, * There is no proceeding juſt a-
gainſt any man, but what is warrant-
ed either by Gods Laws or the mu-
nicipal Laws of the Countrey where
he lives. Now I am moſt confident,
that this dayes proceeding cannot
be warranted by Gods Law: For on
the contrarie the Authoritie of obedience unto
Kings is clearly warranted, and ſtrictly command-
ed both in the Old and New Teſtament; which
if denied, I am readie inſtantly to prove: and for
the queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That
where the word of a King is, there is Power; and who
may ſaie unto him, what doeſt thou? Eccleſ. 8.4.
Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no leſſe

confident, that no Learned Lawyer will affirm
that an Impeachment can lie against the King,
they all going in His Name; and one of their
Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong*. Besides,
the Law upon which you ground your proceed-
ings, must either be old; or new; if old, shew it;
if new, tell what authoritie warranted by the
fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and
when. But how the House of Commons can erect
a Court of Judicature, which was never one it
self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to
God and the world to judge: And it were full
as strange, that they should pretend to make
Laws without K I N G or Lords House, to any
that have heard speak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the Peo-
ple of *Englands* Commission could grant your pre-
tended power, I see nothing you can shew for
that; for certainly you never asked the question
of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this
way you manifestly wrong even the poorest
Plough-man, if you demand not his free consent;
nor can you pretend any colour for this your
pretended Commission without the consent at
least of the major part of everie man in *England*,
of whatsoever qualitie or condition, which I am
sure you never went about to seek, so far are you
from having it. Thus you see that I speak not
for My own right alone, as I am your K I N G; but
also for the true Libertie of all My Subjects which
consists not in sharing the power of Government,
but in living under such Laws, such a Govern-
ment as may give themselves the best assurance
of their lives and proprietie of their goods. Nor
in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of
both Houses of Parliament, which this daie pro-
ceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise oc-
casion the greatest breach of their Publick Faith
that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which
I am far from charging the two Houses: for all
the pretended Crimes laid against Mee, began
long before this late Treatie at New-
market which I having concluded as much as in Me

ay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come I cannot but to My power defend the antient Laws and liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just Right; then for anie thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceedings against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happie they have been of late years under the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, the KING My Father, and My self, untill the beginning of these unhappie Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happie under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and libertie of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will readily Answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to speak in Westminster-hall on Mundaie, 22. Januarie; but against Reason was hindered to shew My Reason.*

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elisabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the before His Death.

His Children being come to meet him, he gave his blessing to the Lady Elisabeth; and bade her remember to tell her Brother James when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more live upon Charles as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his Knee, said, Sweet heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King. But mark what I say, thou must not be a King, so long as your Brother Charles and James do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch thee) and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child, sighing; said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeths Hand.

What the King said to me the nine and twentieth of January 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him; He told me he was glad I was come, and although he had no time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because He feared their Cruelty was such that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and to

my self for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He should die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this land and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews Sermons, Hookers Ecclesiastical Polities, and Bishop Lauds Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother: that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send his Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His Blessing, I took my leave.

Further He commanded Us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own souls: And desired me not to grieve for Him, for he should die a Martyr. And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son and that We should be all happier, than We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeth.

THE KING said to the Duke of Gloucester, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told him, that He heard that the Army intended to make him King, but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: and commanded him to fear the Lord; and he would provide for him.

Was sent from the PRINCE
to the KING; Date
from the HAGUE Jan. 2
Anno Dom. 1648.

SIR,

HAVING no means to come to
knowledge of your Majesties present
condition, but such as I receive from
the Prints, or (which is as uncertain)
report, I have sent this bearer [Seamus]
to wait upon your Majestie; and
bring me an account of it: that I may
withall assure your Majestie, I do
truly pray for your Majestie according
to my Dutie; but shall alwayes be ready
to do all which shall be in my power
to procure that blessing which I now humbly
beg of your Majestie upon

SIR,

Your Majesties

most humble and most

obedient Son

Servant

The Subscription was thus,

KING.

PRINTED
Date
Jan. 2

come to
ies pre
eeive fro
ertain
[Seamo
e ; and
that I m
e ; I do
accord
es be re
y power
now h
n.

nd most

at Son

ryant